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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the effect of 350 years of Dutch colonial rule upon Indonesian educational policies and the resulting regional inequalities in education. It was Dutch policy not to educate most of the children from the poorer social classes, but to use education to maintain and strengthen the existing social structure. Education was also used for economic exploitation. The author specifically examines the regions of North Sulawesi, West Sumatra, and East Java. North Sulawesi and West Sumatra gained an educational advantage because Christian and Islamic schools were located there, but in East Java, the center of Dutch aristocracy, there were very few schools. Over 75 percent of the entire population of East Java received no schooling at all. When Indonesia became an independent nation in 1945, the new government made an early commitment to equality of education. However, instead of eliminating regional disparities, government policies have increased them. Inequality has been perpetuated in school status, school type, and social class. Although there have been impressive enrollment gains and the social demands for education have increased, social justice in education is still hindered by the high cost of education. Among the author's suggestions for reform are equalization of school costs, provision of more scholarships, and implementation of a quota system for increasing the number of students from poor families attending secondary schools. The document contains numerous tables and diagrams, a glossary, bibliography, and appendices. (EC)

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COLONIAL CONTINUITIES AND EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITIES IN INDONESIA

by

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PETA DAERAH TINGKAT I

Republic of Indonesia

01 - DKI Jakarta
02 - Jawa Barat (West Java)
03 - Jawa Tengah (Central Java)
04 - DI Yogyakarta
05 - Jawa Timur (East Java)
06 - DI Aceh
07 - Sumatra Utara (North Sumatra)
08 - Sumatra Barat (West Sumatra)
09 - Riau
10 - Jambi
11 - Sumatra Selatan (South Sumatra)
12 - Lampung
13 - Kalimantan Barat (West Kalimantan)
14 - Kalimantan Tangah (Central Kalimantan)
15 - Kalimantan Selatan (South Kalimantan)
16 - Kalimantan Timur (East Kalimantan)
17 - Sulawesi Utara (North Sulawesi)
18 - Sulawesi Tengah (Central Sulawesi)
19 - Sulawesi Selatan (South Sulawesi)
20 - Sulawesi Tenggara (Southeast Sulawesi
21 - Maluku
22 - Bali
23 - Nusa Tenggara Barat (West Nusa Tenggara)
24 - NusaTenggara Timur (East Nusa Tenggara)
25 - Irian Jaya
26 - Bengkulu

COLONIAL CONTINUITIES AND EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITIES IN INDONESIA

ABSTRACT

It is the premise of this paper that an examination of Indonesia's historical process is imperative if one is to understand the effect the educational policies and practices imported by the Dutch during the 350 years Indonesia was under foreign domination had on present regional inequalities in education.

The paper will begin with an examination of the mechanisms for political control and economic exploitation employed by the Dutch and how these influenced educational development. It will be shown that Dutch educational policy was one of not educating rather than of educating the great majority of children from the poorer social classes. Education was an instrument to create a new middle class favorable to the colonial government rather than one intending to create an egalitarian society. It sought to maintain, indeed strengthen, the existing hierarchical social structure rather than to render it less stratified.

Since the application of the Dutch dual educational policy precipitated different regional responses, the paper will consider the regional disparities in the three provinces with unique colonial experiences: North Sulawesi, West Sumatra, and East Java.

With independence, the Indonesian government undertook a major reform of the education system and introduced a number of programs to foster equity in educational opportunities. This paper examines these changes and then shows that regional disparities have not been reduced in spite of them; indeed in the three provinces the pattern of disparities which began during the Dutch colonial period have continued unabated.

The concluding part of the paper suggests possible initiatives which the Indonesian government might take to equalize educational opportunities between regions, including further development of the regional planning units and the elimination of some of the more discriminating elements of the present system, including competitory entrance examinations and school tuitions and fees.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Particularly in the developing nations of the world, though by no means confined to them, there has been a perceptible increase in attention being given to regional disparities in education--problems of unequal educational opportunities in terms of access and quality. Governments, perhaps more out of political necessity than social consciousness, are calling not so much for fundamental structural change but for actual incremental educational reform to lessen the gross disparities found between regions of their respective countries (Weiler, "Changing Concepts"). International donor agencies, including the World Bank, the United States Agency for International Development, and the Ford Foundation, have, for example, embraced this concern and are presently embarked on the operational course of intervention-strategy development to alleviate these disparities.

Yet our understanding of disparities in education remains very limited. This was made apparent during the International Institute for Educational Planning's (IIEP) workshop on Regional Disparities in Educational Development held in Paris (12-16 December, 1977). Bringing together specialists in this area, including those representing Third World countries, the workshop provided an excellent forum for the examination of the concepts and a review of the "state of the art" of educational inequalities--but it also clearly revealed that little consensus existed in such areas as what constituted a region, and to what degree it is a relevant and useful unit for the analysis of educational disparities. Even the definition of educational disparities and methods to measure them proved to be elusive.

The IIEP Workshops illustrated the fact that differences in ideology affect one's perception of the nature of the problem. A group of educational and social critics argue that educational reform executed by the entrenched political elite will never have the welfare of the discriminated majority as a real policy objective: their interest is one of their own

social reproduction (Carnoy and Levin, The Limits of Educational Reform). From those embracing this position comes the contention that reform can only be effected if there is a social revolution on the part of those presently disadvantaged.

Some participants from the Third World, particularly in government agencies and institutions, counter this contention with detailed accounts of intervention strategies which were aimed at the equalization of educational opportunities for those presently excluded from schooling (Sudaprasert; Ferge; Court; IIEP, 1977). Research examining to what extent different regions benefit from the education service has been conducted in these countries to support their contention that educational reform, as opposed to dramatic social change, is the policy of their governments.

Clearly conflicting views of reform needs and preconditions exist between those who assert that the governmental elite's political policies are exploitive and do not, by definition, aspire to alleviate inequities and those who represent the elite, maintaining that the reform effort is genuine. The latter view suggests that the elites are indeed actively striving to reduce disparities in terms of access to educational opportunities.

A. Indonesia and Equity

Having worked within the planning bureaucracy of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, I find the social-reproduction arguments persuasive but I also appreciate that there are people within the Ministry who are committed to the process of reform and are trying to effect it from within. While they may not be able to dramatically change the social order in short order, there is a genuine desire to reduce some of the existing disparities. The position taken by these practitioners is that no established elite is likely to tolerate the social revolution approach to reform--but there is a chance that incremental change can be effected and this change can be socially positive. The very nature of their position within the political structure demands that policy recognize the political

world within which education exists while at the same time developing policy alternatives which will not only achieve a political equilibrium but will also, hopefully, minimize present inequalities.

It is also important to note that the impetus for social reform, in this case educational equality, may not originate from within; indeed in the case of Indonesia, while there is very apparent social demand for education, the government's motivation to implement reform is less in response to internal and wide-spread social pressure but rather a response to international opinion and the desire to present itself as democratic before the world community. Looked at from this perspective, in many ways the concern on the part of the elite for equity in education has preceeded the demand for equity on the part of the great majority of Indonesians. This phenomenon would certainly make it easier for a government to postpone attention to regional disparities--yet in the case of Indonesia such has not occurred.

In a position paper prepared for the Ford Foundation by Sheldon Shaeffer ("Educational Equity"), it is emphasized that:

> [The Indonesian Government]...is committed to more and better education; is aware of the need for greater deconcentration of authority to provincial and sub-provincial levels; does want to develop further the planning skills of provincial education officials....

In Indonesia, the Second Five-Year Development Plan calls for pemerataan kesempatan belajar (equalization of study opportunities) at the primary and secondary levels; tertiary education is not discussed from the equality of opportunities perspective. The intervention strategies developed by the Ministry of Education and Culture suggest that pemerataan in Indonesia is best defined as the democratization of opportunities to attend formal primary- and secondary-level schools, with access not being limited by either geographical or socio-economic factors.* Neither the equal

*This paper will discuss disparities at the primary and secondary levels only; it will not consider equal educational opportunities at the tertiary level.

quality of the educational process nor equal outcomes of the schooling experiences for all groups is not included (Second Five-Year Development Plan, Section IV-V).

In spite of the apparent commitment of the Indonesian government to equal (democratic) access to formal primary and secondary schooling, it is readily apparent that the millions invested by a nation experiencing severe economic difficulties have, in fact, done little to equalize educational opportunities. The distribution of schools and facilities appears to have favored the already advantaged provinces. There are indications that the concentration of the limited resources on the newly constructed schools has resulted in the benign neglect of the already established ones, leading to an actual exacerbation of existing disparities.

Typically these less-than-hoped-for results have led to criticism directed toward the criteria used for the allocation and location of the schools (Proppipda Jatim, 6). Where facilities appear to have been properly located (a large target population) but have not attracted youth to them, a low social demand for education is claimed--though what is actually meant by this is seldom explained (Proppipda Sumbar, 10). Program evaluation has been undertaken and policy makers have responded with revised guidelines and appeals to provincial authorities to develop a public appreciation for education and the social and economic returns which attendance will "guarantee" (Proppipda Jatim, Proppipda Sumbar, 20). Subsequent efforts, however, have been no more impressive.

I submit that future efforts will continue to be unsuccessful, not because of the lack of desire to reduce present disparities but rather because of the failure of the planners to understand the determinants of those disparities. While research in Indonesia has been undertaken, the study of disparities has concentrated upon the measurement of present inequalities, primarily the access to formal schooling (BP3K, Statistik Pendidikan). Aggregate data for each of the nation's 26 provinces have

been manipulated and intervention strategies designed which would appear to be appropriate for the elimination of the identified inequalities. If only 45 percent of the school-aged cohort are attending primary schools, it would appear that to achieve the 85-percent target all that is required is the construction of ample numbers of new schools. If parents suggest that education cannot be afforded, then school fees could be reduced or eliminated. But, as Indonesia has found, these seemingly straightforward approaches have not resulted in concommitant reductions in the inequalities. What went wrong?

B. Indonesia and Colonial Continuities

I suggest that the answer to this question is largely that little consideration has been given to the antecedent conditions for present inequalities. When undertaken, this consideration has been ahistorical in nature. In Indonesia, as in other nations with a colonial past, current patterns of regional inequality appear to result from the process of educational diffusion that began in much earlier periods (Foster, Regional Disparities, 6). Jean-Yves Martin, in his study of regional disparities in Cameroon, contends that:

> ...the regions of Cameroon cannot be reduced simply to spatial-administrative segments, but in most cases cover socio-historical units marked at once by the nature of societies which compose them and their past relationships with one another and with the colonist, all of which determine their present position in the national, post-colonial framework. ("Differentiation sociale," 9)

Since the elite favored during the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia continue to use education (and other social and economic structures) to maintain and legitimize inequality and privilege today, an historical analysis helps to diagnose the continuities of class structure and their impact on educational development. It is precisely here that the study of disparities (and the resulting intervention strategies) in Indonesia has gone aground.

By failing to examine current patterns of regional inequality from the historical perspective, policy planners have been unable to develop educational strategies that are relevant for each region--and each perhaps largely irrelevant for other regions. National intervention strategies not reflecting the unique historical experience of the regions will only be marginally successful at best. Indonesian policy planners can ill afford to continue their neglect of Indonesia's historical context if they are to understand the effect of the educational models imported by the Dutch (and to a lesser extent by the Japanese) during the 350 years she was under foreign domination has had on present regional inequalities in education. Clearly education is a strategic process of reproduction reflecting the continuation of society through generations; present disparities are affected by the unique colonial experiences of the regions. Inequalities in access to schooling are largely a function of the early spread and acceptance of education and the historical circumstances affect present social demands for education. The government's responses to these inequalities must, therefore, take into account such circumstances.

It is important that the general content and direction of Dutch policy in Indonesia be understood. Only from such a perspective will it be possible to understand the means employed by the Dutch in their system of indirect rule (divide and rule) for the economic exploitation of the country's natural resources. In the next part of this paper, an overview to Dutch hegemony in Indonesia will be presented, with the education system receiving particular attention. It will be shown, for example, that the restrictions placed upon the Indonesians with regard to the type of economic activity in which they were permitted to engage would parallel the development and use made of the education system in facilitating the exploitation of Indonesia's human and natural resources.

The discussion will then shift to three areas in Indonesia (West Sumatra, East Java, and North Sulawesi) with different colonial experiences.

Examining each region from the historical colonial perspective, it will be shown that there was no monolithic Dutch policy. Where local infrastructure and initiative (compliance) existed which was more compatible with the colonial notions of development, the Dutch reinforced it. Where it did not exist, the Dutch introduced Chinese middlemen to run the local economy and coopted a new Dutch-educated elite to administer the region. Where economic exploitation was less profitable to Holland, the Dutch established political control but did not attempt to drastically alter the social and economic structure of the region. The unique conditions in these three regions and the Dutch response to them led to different patterns of educational development. As will be shown, these patterns continue to date Those who benefitted during the 350 years of Dutch rule are continuing to use education to maintain and legitimize their class position today.

II. DUTCH HEGEMONY IN INDONESIA: AN OVERVIEW

For 350 years Indonesia, first by the Dutch East India Company and later (1899) by the Dutch Government, was subjected to a Calvinist colonial policy aimed at the exploitation of the natural resources of the country. Economically the archipelago provided an income directly or indirectly to one in seven Dutchmen and psychologically it made Holland not a small, isolated European country of nine million people but the world's third largest colonial power.

Well into the 20th Century, exports far exceeded imports (Table 1) and by 1940 Holland's investment in Indonesia was $1,422 million--and Dutch hegemony continued to stress maximization of profit, caring little for the extension of even limited economic, social, or educational infrastructure to the indigenous population (Grant, 15-21; Kahin, 56).

TABLE 1
VALUE OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS**

Year	Imports	Exports
1913	436,682,000	614,203,000
1920	1,116,213,000	2,224,999,000
1925	818,372,000	1,784,798,000
1930	855,425,000	1,159,601,000
1936	278,908,000	589,637,000
1940	430,160,000	940,256,000

**(in Guilders = $.40)

Source: Kahin, 56.

Dutch colonial practice was unique in Asia; they came as settlers in large numbers, and by the late 1930's there were over 250,000 residing in Indonesia, a number equal to all British living in India--a country five times as large. The importance of this colonial policy cannot be over-emphasized, for it means that the Dutch could, and did, exert indirect but overt control over all aspects of extraction. Non-economic infrastructure was developed for the resident Dutch and the economic infrastructure, mobilized through the Chinese economic middlemen and the traditional aristocracy, assured maximum profit and control and permitted the Calvinist Dutch to remain safely ambivalent to the needs of 98 percent of the people of the archipelago (Grant, 20-21).

A. System Maintenance

To establish and maintain political control over hundreds of islands, which, if transferred to the Northern Hemisphere, would extend from London almost to the northwest frontier of China and from Stockholm nearly to Rome, the Dutch relied on a system of "indirect rule" (or divide and rule). The indigenous power structure was coopted and reinforced to assure stability while creating an effective buffer between the masses and the Dutch rulers. At the local level the headmen came less to hold their position due to the concurrence of their fellow villagers (as was certainly the case before) than due to the Dutch and the Dutch-backed aristocracy above them. As long as

they proved loyal to the system of economic exploitation, their position was guaranteed. While this meant that the peasants they exploited lost their once-significant say in the social and economic affairs of the village, their absolute authority, security, and economic well-being was increased. The aristocracy, cooperating with the Dutch to maintain their top position within the traditional hierarchy, became the vassal-agents of the Dutch East India Company and later of the Dutch Colonial Government. Through their autocratic control of the village headmen, which was backed by Dutch military force, they came to enjoy privileges of power and wealth which were never theirs before, and the Dutch had an effective and efficient system, at little cost, for the control of millions of people (Kahin, 4-15; Neill, 295).

B. Economic Exploitation

Dutch rule resulted in a rapid change in the overall character of the Indonesian middle class. Where once it had a strong capitalist element, it was soon displaced as the Company began to give greater privileges to the Chinese whom they felt better understood the business practices of the Dutch and who felt no reluctance in exploiting the natural resources as far as possible. In Java, for example, the prosperous trade-kingdoms were destroyed by the Dutch who excluded them from commercial relations with the outer world. The installation of Chinese merchant-men to replace the displaced entrepreneurs was deliberate. The company actively encouraged the immigration of Chinese to Indonesia and indeed in 1633 consideration was given to sending a military expedition to China "... for the purpose of capturing as many of its inhabitants as possible for the peopling of the Indies." (Bahar, 16-18)

The Chinese, once confined to the larger cities, were given much greater freedom of movement by the Dutch. Their participation in the collection of native produce for export led to their being absorbed into the system of political relationships developed by the Company, and into

positions initially reserved only for members of the Indonesian aristocracy. The Chinese also moved into industry and by 1925 only 16 percent of those industries employing more than six people were owned by Indonesians; nearly a third were under Chinese ownership (Kahin, 29). A plural system had been created in Indonesia, with the Dutch at the top, the great majority of the indigenous people at the bottom, the Chinese as a middle class between the two, and the aristocracy surviving on the periphery only as long as they remained supportive of the system (Neill, 286). The total effect of this devastating divide-and-rule policy was the near elimination of a once-strong Indonesian entrepreneurial element in most areas of Indonesia.

C. Education and Social Mobility

The civil service expanded rapidly as the Dutch sought to administer the nearly 3,000 islands which comprised Indonesia--and it was here that a few Indonesians were permitted. Positions as government clerks, administrative officials, and teachers were suddenly open to larger numbers of Indonesians, with recruitment based upon newly available Western education and, more important, a command of the Dutch language. This new middle class of Indonesians, while never large in number, owed whatever socio-economic mobility they had to European knowledge taught through the medium of Dutch. By 1928, of the 33,000 Western-educated Indonesians (out of a population in excess of 40 million), 80 percent were in the service of the colonial government (Kahin, 30). For the most part, this employment was within the ranks of the native civil service, that is the bottom layer of the Dutch colonial administration. Over 99 percent of these personnel positions were held by Indonesians while fewer than a third of the next higher level were filled by them (Kahin, 35).

Philip Foster presents convincing arguments that the "mainspring" for the development of education is largely economic in nature, particularly as it is judged by parents and students as the preeminent qualification for access to the middle and higher rungs in the world of job opportunities

(Foster, 10). That the world of work does not actually operate the way parents expect is equally true, as Carnoy, Levin, Gintis, and others have shown (Carnoy and Levin, 219-242; Gintis, 70-96). But should parents believe that there is a strong correspondence between education and employment, then they will aspire for education for their children.

For Indonesians wishing to enter the middle class, Western education and fluency in Dutch was absolutely essential. However, there was anything but equal access to this education so essential for civil-service appointment. Formal education policy under the Dutch was one of not educating rather than of educating the great majority of the children from the poor families. It was an instrument to create a new middle class favorable to the colonial government and not one intending to create an egalitarian society. It sought to maintain, indeed, to strengthen the existing hierarchical social structure rather than to render it less stratified. Western education was available only to a very few and these were largely the children from those royal families who were cooperating closely with the Dutch and their Chinese middlemen. In 1909, nearly three-fourths of the students in the government's school for native civil servants were sons of administrators of sub-districts or higher (Kahin, 58). This was not a phenomenon of children from educated parents, for a variety of reasons, going farther and doing better in school but rather the result of an explicit policy of exclusion.

Before 1860, except for children of European ancestry, education in Indonesia was totally unremarkable. (See Appendix, Diagram 1) In 1818, at the primary level, the Dutch had established a seven-year Lower European School (Europeesche Lagerschool or E. L. S.), followed in 1860 by the five-year Higher European School (Hoogere Burgerschool or H. B. S.). Instruction in these schools was in the Dutch vernacular, with a curriculum clearly patterned on that in Holland and attendance restricted almost entirely to those Europeans living in Indonesia. However, a few children of the Indonesian aristocracy were permitted to attend, since this would not only

realize the government's need for trained officials for the native branch of the civil service but would also further separate the aristocracy from the great masses. The Dutch correctly concluded that this privileged class would show little desire or anxiety to spread education to the poorer classes but would be much more concerned with strengthening and perpetuating their own favored position. While 19th Century education in Holland was also very elitist in nature, with relatively few children able to obtain a secondary-level education, in Indonesia education was purposively used to further the Dutch policy of divide and rule. The policy worked extremely well: the total number of Indonesians who were educated in the E. L. S. (or the H. I. S., see below) was just slightly over 80, 000 in 1940. In other words, since their establishment 122 years earlier, something on the order of 670 Indonesian youngsters had access to these schools each year. (See Appendix, Tables 1 and 6)

Attendance at the H. B. S. was contingent upon successful completion of the E. L. S. and upon passing a particularly competitive (for Indonesians) entrance examination. A quota system was also rigorously applied, with no more than 20 percent of any school to be comprised of Indonesians. Of those eligible for admission, only 22 percent were able to attend. In 80 years (1860-1940), only 18, 000 Indonesians continued their education in the H. B. S., or fewer than 225 students per year (Pendidikan di Indonesia, 50-53; Bahar, 26).

Yet it was not only rigid entrance or promotion requirements which operated to deny Indonesians access to the Dutch primary and secondary schools. There was also the matter of cost. These schools were not free and only the very wealthy could afford them. As shown in Table 2, at a time when tuition alone was 36 guilders (US$87), the average monthly income for Indonesian families was extremely low. Even for those who might have been willing to undertake great financial sacrifices to provide education to their children, assuming they would even be considered for admission, low family income simply precluded this.

TABLE 2
INCOME OF VARIOUS SOCIAL GROUPS IN 1925**

Social Classification	% of Total	Average Monthly Income per Family
Agricultural Laborers (native agriculture)	12.1	US$ 41
Casual Laborers	10.6	48
Share Croppers	3.4	49
Small Landowners	27.1	59
Independent Artisans and Retailers	5.9	99
Large Landowners	19.8	120
Laborers in Factories or on Plantations (European/ Chinese Ownership)	2.4	148
Village Chiefs and Officials	2.4	192
Landowners (Aristocracy)	2.5	436
(Unclassified)	4.8	?

(**revised from Kahin, 20)

The village chiefs and officials of the aristocracy, comprising less than five percent of the population, were the only ones likely to be able to afford education--and indeed it was only these people that the Dutch felt any inclination to educate. Certain people were, however, exempted from tuition and other school fees if their family income was low. Should one be of Dutch ancestry and earning $480 or less per month, education was free. This provisions did not affect many Dutch since their earnings were typically much above this minimum, but it would have applied to nearly 100 percent of the Indonesian population. The cost of education clearly was a deliberate move of the Dutch to regulate, perhaps more correctly, to impede the spread of education.

With the political buffer between the Dutch and the Indonesian masses provided by the aristocracy and the economic buffer provided initially by the aristocracy and the Chinese and subsequently by the Chinese alone, for three centuries the Dutch were able to exploit without recourse. The last 50 years

were not nearly as peaceful. While certainly many things contributed to the eventual awakening of the masses, the spread of Pan-Islamic ideas and the growing tendency of those who had received Western education to dis-associate themselves from the aristocracy from which they had come are acknowledged to be of particular importance (Kahin, 58; Grant, 22; Bahar, 30-36). Education became the chief vehicle of the nationalist movement and Indonesians such as Raden Adjueng Kartini started to establish their own schools, not to obtain political equality but rather social equality (Grant, 22).

To counteract such moves, and to fill civil-service positions which the educated in larger numbers were refusing to take, the Dutch decided to expand educational opportunities. Unlike the British, the Dutch were reluctant to let the educated classes educate the masses; they would do it, gradually, themselves (Naik, 9).

The Dutch initiated a dual system of education in the early 1900's. In 1914, a seven-year Dutch Native School (Hollandsch Inlandscheschool or H. I. S.) was opened to a few members from Indonesian families working in the native civil service; the instruction medium was Dutch. Few in number and subjected to rigid selection criteria for admission, the H. I. S. did little to increase the opportunities for Indonesians to obtain the Western education and facility with the Dutch language, so essential for social and economic mobility within the colonial government. Fewer than five percent of those Indonesians who were to receive a primary education under the Dutch did so within the H. I. S. --but this was sufficient for the purposes of the government. While data are sketchy, it also seems that the dropout (forceout) rate from these schools was excessive (Pendidikan di Indonesia, 16-19). Indonesians maintained that the Dutch never intended to create an Indonesian counterpart to the much more exclusive E. L. S. By restricting the numbers who could attend, forcing out many of the few who were admitted, the Dutch continued to openly discriminate against the local population while trying to

give the outward appearance of responding to pressure for equal educational opportunities.

A three-year Village School (Volkschool) was established in 1907. Opened throughout the archipelago to Indonesians, it provided instruction in the local dialect.* Many fewer in number were the Village Continuation Schools (Vervolgschool), providing two additional years of primary education for those who successfully completed the Volkschools. By 1940, 2.1 million Indonesians had attended the Village Schools (Ministry of Education, Pendidikan di Indonesia, p. 3). As impressive as that might appear at first glance, this represented less than three percent of the total population. If equal access was never achieved through the Village Schools, the quality of that education was even less to that of schools for the elite. While expenditure on the Dutch-medium schools (E.L.S.) was nearly $20 per capita, for the Village Schools it was $.20 (Kahin, 55). When the world economic crisis came in the early 1930's, a large number of primary-level schools were closed; they were all village Schools (Pendidikan di Indonesia, 49). The E.L.S. remained unaffected.

The Indonesian elite (then and now) recognized these schools to be third-rate at best. Yet it is quite possible that, in spite of low expenditures, these schools were better suited to the needs of the villagers--providing their children did not desire to move into the Dutch-school tract. The language was in the local dialect and the curriculum provided instruction sufficient for the mastery of simple language and computation skills. The elite judged the "quality" of the Village Schools on the basis of whether they provided access to further education; since they did not, they were third-rate. Alternative forms of education, such as more community-based

*It was not until the Japanese occupation (1940) that the Indonesian language (Bahasa) became the medium of instruction in all schools. It has been suggested that the Dutch rejected the introduction of Bahasa, fearing that it might promote national unity; this was to be avoided at all costs. Nor did the privileged elite push for Bahasa since their knowledge of Dutch helped them maintain their favored position.

education, were not considered to have any value. Today, in Indonesia, the democratization of educational opportunities is still approached from the position that continuance through higher education means quality education. As a result, education will continue to favor the well-to-do at the expense of the poor, as will be shown later in this paper.

At the secondary level, there was a preparatory school ostensibly providing access to graduates of the Village School to the Dutch-medium secondary schools. Five years in duration, these Schakelschools offered access to the M. U. L. O (Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs) and eventually to the Middle School (Algemeene Middelbareschool or A. M. S.). These schools were established in 1914 and 1915 respectively and, as usual, required proficiency in Dutch. An indication of how difficult it was for a child to move from the Village School with instruction in the local dialect to the M. U. L. O. and eventually the A. M. S. where Dutch was manditory, in 1940 only 5, 250 students were able to attend the M. U. L. O.) schools so important if they were to secure any wage employment or have access to the new middle class (Pendidikan, 50). (See Appendix, Table 2)

As Tables 2 through 5 in the Appendix show, the number of Indonesians who obtained a senior secondary and higher education was never substantial. In 1920 only 67 of the 1, 094 (six percent) students attending either the A. M. S. or the five-year Higher Middle School (Hoogere Burgerschool or H. B. S.) were Indonesians. By 1940 the number had increased to 1, 465; a substantial increase but still an insignificant proportion of the school-age cohort. Higher education was even more closed to the Indonesians. In 1920, two Indonesians were attending a university; 20 years later there were still only 143 (Pendidikan, 51). It was the policy of the Dutch to provide educational opportunities to a select few and at a level adequate for the filling of the needs of the native civil service: senior secondary and higher education was obviously superflous and, as a result, the Dutch Government made no effort to educate Indonesians to this level. Those who obtained a higher level education did so against great obstacles.

In the overview just concluded, it is possible to discern that where access to low- and middle-level civil-service positions was open, those eligible sought out the Western education required. The Village Schools, where available, often failed to attract students in great numbers for few could use this route to eventually get to the Dutch secondary-level schools and the employment which it promised. Entrepreneurial privileged had been lost to the favored Chinese, hence there was little advantage to be gained from this type of education for those who might have aspired for employment in this sector. For the masses, therefore, a village education, in economic terms, meant very little. The Dutch clearly set the pattern for educational development in Indonesia; its policies were clearly elitist, in no way intending to give to all people equal access to educational institutions. When political pressures began to mount and it proved necessary to expand educational opportunities, the Dutch did so not by increasing the numbers admitted to the Dutch schools but rather by building inferior Village Schools. For the Dutch this was a most rational policy. For the Indonesians who saw little or no economic advantage from attendance and opted to stay away, theirs was also a rational decision. The legacy of the Dutch was, therefore, anything but an educational policy aimed at the provision of equal access to quality education for all.

III. REGIONAL DISPARITIES UNDER THE DUTCH

Dutch policy was not, however, applied uniformly throughout the archipelago. In those areas where important resources were to be found, the policy of divide and rule was ruthlessly executed. In the more isolated areas (made so by their lack of resources and hence low Dutch interest), great differences in colonial policy and practice were found, particularly in the relationships between the local peoples and the colonial government. North Sulawesi, East Java, and West Sumatra have been selected for scrutiny to show how the 350 years of Dutch hegemony led to unique patterns of educational development.

These three provinces are administrative regions which reflect a set of arbitrary boundaries and political units of central government authority. The Dutch colonial policy of extraction often was not contained within such administrative boundaries but rather cut across them, following socio-economic zones. Clearly the historical experiences of East Java, for example, were typical of those for 70 percent of the island of Java; the generalizations to be drawn from this province apply to a much larger and (non-administrative) spatial unit. On the other hand, while North Sulawesi is only one of four provinces on the island of Sulawesi (Celebes) and West Sumatra is one of eight on Sumatra, the administrative units of each, because of their geography and ecology, do reflect socio-economic zones of demarcation as well. While it might be suggested than an examination of the historical process should not be confined to arbitrary political boundaries, the Government of Indonesia, because of management considerations and the needs of administrative and political control, will continue to exercise its will by administrative regions. Furthermore, educational data are compiled by province and not by socio-economic zones. It is for these reasons that the analysis of the historical process of present inequalities in Indonesia will use the region of action (administrative unit) rather than the analytical region of the socio-economic zones.

A. The Dutch in North Sulawesi

North Sulawesi was extremely important to the Dutch East India Company from the very beginnings of the colonization of the archipelago, the result of its strategic location along the spice islands trade route and its own rich natural resources of cloves, nutmeg, coconuts, copra, sandalwood, and sago. By the 17th Century this extensive contact with spice traders had produced racially mixed communities over which the traditional kingdoms held only minimal influence. The economic importance to the Dutch resulted in Menado becoming the area's principal administrative center. The Chinese were encouraged to become the economic middlemen, with a

resulting impoverishment of the local commercial middle class. Unlike other parts of Indonesia, the Dutch were unable to utilize the aristocracy as their political buffer since the aristocracy's influence had long since eroded. Calvinist missionary activity made this unimportant; they converted the great majority of the people to Christianity and it was to these new converts that the Dutch turned. Indeed, the influence of the Menadonese and Minahasa Christians was soon to be felt not only in this region but throughout the archipelago (Grant, 142-143).

The missionaries build church-related schools in even the smallest communities in North Sulawesi, providing free education to all who became Protestants. With the curriculum patterned after the prestigious Dutch primary schools (E. L. S.), the people suddenly found themselves in great demand in the colonial civil service, including those of other Dutch administrative centers in the other islands, particularly in Java.

Being Christian and educated (which meant being able to speak Dutch), a strong bond existed between Indonesian Christians and the colonial government. This bond proved to be indispensable in the Dutch control of the colony--not only through the civil-service positions which they filled but also through their active participation in the army and the police. They soon became the pillars of Dutch authority in the Indies (Wertheim, 294). This is not to say that other Indonesians did not serve in the army, but the Christians from North Sulawesi (and the Mulaccas and Timor) received significantly higher pay for their services.

For the people of North Sulawesi, access to the middle class was wide open, not only in their own province but throughout the colony. They filled the top positions of the native civil service and the core of the army. Education was a prerequisite and their access to missionary schools made it possible for great numbers of Minahasans and Menandonese to move into a middle class which was much smaller in other parts of the colony. Education was available and its return was substantial. They became great consumers of education.

B. The Dutch in West Sumatra

In West Sumatra three things contributed to a very different colonial experience for the Minangkabau people: the typography, their family structure, and their religion.

A rugged topography not only isolated the Minangkabau from their neighbors but also made it difficult for the Dutch to establish state-owned plantations for the extraction of copra, coffee, coconuts, and rubber. While a Dutch fort was built in Bukittinggi, it served primarily as a garrison rather than as an administrative and economic center for the region. Because of the lower profitability of the region, the Dutch did not follow their traditional practice of encouraging the migration of Chinese middlemen to West Sumatra. Nor did the Dutch openly support the Chinese in the local economy through the leasing of lands or the granting of tax privileges as they had done in Java and Sulawesi. Those few Chinese who did arrive were effectively confined to the cities. They were never able to wrest control of the economy from the commercially shrewd Minangkabau. The producing areas were retained by the Kaum (traditional leaders within the matrilineal family structure of the Minanagkabau). Money-lending, merchandising, tax collecting, and industry, without direct control of the villages and without access to an aristocracy which provided concessions, were all but closed to the Chinese who found themselves excluded in ways no other Indonesians had been able to manage. In West Sumatra the Minangkabau retained their commercial advantage and were later able to extend it throughout the archipelago.

The matrilineal family structure, in which descent and inheritance are determined through the mother's side of the family, had led to the unique Minangkabau practice of merantau. All young bachelors were expected to make a trip abroad to give them standing within the female-oriented society. Often such trips were connected with inter-island trade, though becoming educated, particularly in Islamic schools, was an equally respectable way to fulfill the merantau obligations.

In the area of trade, the Minangkabau soon established an extensive network which often equalled that of the Dutch-backed Chinese middlemen, particularly in the isolated interior and among the thousands of smaller islands throughout the archipelago. In West Sumatra, access to the middle class was not dependent upon the Dutch nor their education system. Positions within the native branch of the civil service was not the only way to advance one's social and economic position. Indeed, it was a much less rewarding route than was trade and commerce.

Merantau combined with Islam to create a situation where hundreds of Minangkabau traveled abroad to study, particularly at Al-Azhar University in Cairo. Returning to West Sumatra, many proceeded to establish their own schools called pesantrens throughout the highland communities. Their pesantrens had tremendous appeal to the Minangkabau not only because of their heavily religious curriculum but also because they provided a local alternative to the few schools being established by the Dutch. They served to protect the Minangkabau from these alien incursions and the Dutch could not compete with them. Islam thwarted the activities of the missionaries and the religious schools made the E. L. S. and later the Village Schools somewhat superfluous.

Soon gaining an archipelago-wide reputation, the progressive (modern) pesantren became the model followed in West Sumatra. Still heavily Koranic, room was made in the curriculum for secular subjects such as mathematics, language, * and geography (EP3ES, 155-175). As more and more youth embarking on the trade merantau were literate and could effectively handle more complex commercial activities, West Sumatra's position in insular trade became even more pervasive--and the rate of participation in these schools grew proportionately (Bahar, 34).

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*The Minangkabau language is closely related to Malay; this further facilitated their capacity to trade throughout the region.

C. The Dutch in East Java

In East Java, indeed the whole of Java, the Dutch policy of divide and rule was most successful. The Chinese dominated the economy; whole villages were leased to them, thereby guaranteeing total control over production and distribution. It was only a matter of time before they came to dominate all aspects of the local economy, from tax-collecting and money-lending to retailing and the industrial conversion of agricultural products. The Javanese kingdoms had long been rivals and the Dutch exploited these divisions to their benefit. Rewarded with greater power over the masses and appeased with the social privilege of education and civil service employment for their children, the princely nobility could best maintain their position through cooperation with the Dutch in the political control of the masses and through deference to the Chinese in the economic exploitation of the natural resources.

The civil-service positions opened up with the colonial government were largely filled by the sons of the aristocracy educated in the elite Dutch primary and secondary schools. Therefore, unlike North Sulawesi, the lower social classes were excluded from this new middle class. With the Chinese firmly in control of the economy; entrepreneurial opportunities were clearly non-existent. The peasants in East Java felt the full brunt of the policy of stratification.

West Java was, and remains, heavily Moslem. It did not benefit from missionary education, it was largely escluded from the Dutch elite schools, and did not experience the wave of Islamic schools which were the legacy of the Minangkabau merantau to the Middle East. There was little economic incentive for education on the part of the great majority. They were excluded from the exclusive schools and attendance at the Village Schools meant almost nothing in terms of either economic or social return (Kahin, 51-57).

D. Dutch Rule and Educational Disparities: Summary

After 350 years of Dutch rule, educational opportunities for the people of the archipelago were quite unspectacular. However, some very significant differences are to be found as one examines the unique colonial histories of the regions. In West Sumatra, Islamic schools had responded to the religious and commercial needs of the people and their base was broad. The Christianized areas, exemplified by North Sulawesi, had an equally broad-based educational system, with nearly every community with a church having a school as well. From them came the civil servants and the army for the colonial government. East Java found the aristocracy becoming further entrenched. Education was a privilege to be guarded since it lead to the social reproduction of this class. Excluded from the civil service and from participation in entrepreneurial activities, for the poor education was a scarce and relatively meaningless commodity.

These regional disparities are further reflected in the level of education obtained by Indonesians who were above the age of 30 in 1961.

TABLE 3
EDUCATION LEVEL POPULATION AGED
30 YEARS (1961)
(percent)

Region	None or less than 5/6 years	Completed Primary Education	Education Beyond Primary
Indonesia (26 provinces)	89.8	8.2	2.0
North Sulawesi	85.8	11.6	2.6
West Sumatra	86.1	11.3	2.6
East Java	90.2	7.9	1.9

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1963.

Table 3 clearly indicates the educational advantage of North Sulawesi and West Sumatra. But these differences would be even greater if the data permitted the deletion of the Minahasa, Menandonese, and Minangkabau who migrated to Java. A conservative reduction from the East Java totals would be on the order of between two and three percent from the "completed primary education" column and somewhat less than one percent from the "beyond primary" column. These aggregate data from the Central Statistics Office, by combining some primary education with no education, further reduces the real spread which is to be found between these three regions. As has been established, in West Sumatra and North Sulawesi, a very high percentage of the youngsters had access to and did attend primary school, though often not through graduation. Extrapolating from other sources, well over 75 percent of those residing in East Java never attended school; in West Sumatra and North Sulawesi nearly half would have received some education (Carpenter, LKAAM; Proppipda, Laporan). Even though secondary-education facilities built by the Dutch outside Java were very few in number and higher-education facilities were confined to Java, proportionately a much greater number of Minangkabau, Menandonese, and Minahasans than Javanese obtained a secondary or higher education.

IV. EDUCATION AFTER INDEPENDENCE: AN OVERVIEW

When Indonesia won its independence, its education system was poorly developed, clearly reflecting the lack of Dutch concern with the democratization of education; education was provided when and where it served the purposes of the colonial government. Disparities clearly resulted. In North Sulawesi education had a broader, much more democratic base, thanks in part to missionary activity. In East Java it was an instrument for the social reproduction of the aristocracy and it was largely restricted to this elite class. In West Sumatra the Minangkabau reacted to the Dutch incursions by producing its own Islamic school system which was open to all. When the Indonesian leadership assumed control of education, it made a bolder and a

more committed approach to the problem of equality in education. Here we will examine education since the birth of the Republic of Indonesia to show that, in spite of the commitments being made, educational inequalities continue and, indeed, mirror those which were found during the colonial periods. It will be shown that those areas favored prior to independence, either because of missionary activity or a local response quite outside the colonial government, continue to receive preferential treatment today, and that the same groups favored then continue to receive disproportionate benefits from the educational system.

On February 14, 1942, the Japanese began their occupation of Indonesia which was to last until October 1945. In the area of education, the Japanese introduced Bahasa Indonesia as the medium of instruction in all schools where once Dutch or the local dialect was required. A 6-3-3 system was also created and new schools were established throughout the archipelago. As important as these innovations were, the occupation was much too short-lived to have had any lasting effect, other than psychological, on the development of the nation. The most important contribution of the occupation was to hasten the collapse of Dutch hegemony in Indonesia.

The new nation was born on August 31, 1945, but it was not until 1949 that it was recognized by the United Nations. The period in between was one of intermittent war and political bargaining. Once some semblance of national identity and order had been achieved, a very painful and drawn-out process, a National Over-All Development Plan (the Eight-Year Plan) was prepared to guide the nation "toward the ideal society." Education, particularly scientific and technical, was emphasized and 7.4 percent of the total 240,000 million rupiah budget to all sectors went to education (Grant, 115). This is indicative of the priority the Sukarno government was giving to education. Indonesia had begun its monumental effort to provide education to a people largely excluded by the Dutch colonial government.

A. Structure of Education

Education in Indonesia follows the common 6-3-3 structure: primary schools (Sekolah Dasar or SD), grades I-VI; junior secondary schools (Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama or SLTP), grades VII-IX; and senior secondary schools (Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Atas or SLTA), grades X-XII. The complete cycle includes three to five years of higher education. (See Appendix, Diagram 2)

The Ministry of Education is responsible for the pedagogical aspects of the secondary / primary schools and for all aspects of the secular schools. The responsibilities for school construction and teachers' salaries at the primary level belong to the Ministry of Home Affairs. A separate system of education which conforms to the pattern of schools under the Ministry of Education but which provides religious instruction is managed by the Department of Religion.

In 1974 the number of primary schools was 66,578, of which 85 percent were receiving direct assistance, primarily teachers' salaries, from the government. Of these schools 75 percent were built after 1951 (Appendix, Table 16). The total enrollment was slightly over 13 million (more than the total population of Australia); this represents approximately 45 percent of the primary-school aged cohort. With only 2.5 million enrolled in primary schools in 1945, this increase in attendance is truly dramatic (Pendidikan, 76; Appendix, Table 8).

There are four main types of junior secondary schools (SLTP) under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. Entrance to these schools is competitive, with examination being given to all who desire to continue their education beyond the primary level. The most numerous, both in terms of number of facilities and students, is the Junior Level General Academic School (SMP). Unlike the graduates from the other SLTPs, SMP graduates may continue their education in any of the senior secondary schools. The other schools at this level include the Junior Level Commercial School (SMEP),

TABLE 4
JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND ENROLLMENT (1974)

	Schools	Pupils
SMP	5,597	1,332,771
ST	585	185,513
SMEP	779	126,032
SKKP	359	51,110
Totals	7,520	1,695,426

Source: BP3K. Statistik Pendidikan SLTP, 1974.

the Junior Level Technical School (ST), and the Junior Level Home Economics School (SKKP). Each of these schools graduate students who may continue their education at the senior-level counterparts.

Of these secondary schools, nearly 80 percent were built after 1951. Enrollment increased from 8,500 who were enrolled in 1940 to nearly 1.7 million in 1974. This represents approximately eight percent of the school-age cohort. (Appendix, Tables 2 and 16)

At the senior secondary level (SLTA), four of the main types correspond to the four junior-level schools; the fifth is a school that gives both a secondary education and training as a primary-school teacher. Once again, admission to these schools is based on entrance-examination scores. The Senior Level General Academic School (SMA) concentrates on the academic subjects required for entry to all types of higher education; these schools provide no practical instruction of any kind. The Senior Level Technical Schools (SMT), Commercial Schools (SMEA), and Home Economics Schools (SKKA) are more practical in their orientation and, in principle, are terminal though students may (and indeed many do) continue to the academies or institutes upon graduation. The Senior Level Primary Education Teacher Training Schools (SPG) is three years in duration. While many do enter teaching upon being graduated, a growing number enroll in the university-level Teacher Training Institutes (IKIP).

TABLE 5
SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND ENROLLMENTS (1974)

	Schools	Pupils
SMA	1,147	318,996
STM	477	153,317
SMEA	611	148,470
SKKA	136	22,078
SPG	458	76,095
Totals	2,829	718,956

Source: BP3K. Statistik Pendidikan SLTA, 1974.

Of the nearly 3,000 senior-secondary schools, 95 percent were built after 1950 (Appendix, Table 16). The 1974 enrollment in these schools represents a 3.6-percent cohort attendance (Appendix, Table 18)--and a 490-percent increase over the 1940 enrollment figures (Appendix, Table 3). Once again, it is clear that the gains made in education since independence have been little short of incredible.

There are three types of institutions offering degrees in Indonesia: universities, consisting of a number of different faculties covering a wide range of professions and specialties (eg., medicine, law, agriculture, science, humanities); institutes, each of which has a number of faculties within one professional field (eg., education, religion); and academies consisting of a single faculty, divided into departments (eg., irrigation, electrical engineering, language). Today Indonesia has 26 state universities and dozens of private ones; 11 institutes of education and eight institutes of technology; and over 150 state academies. The total number of private institutions of higher education is a matter of informed guessing--but they certainly number into the hundreds (Beeby, 33). In 1940 a total of 157 Indonesians were attending institutions of higher education (Appendix, Table 4). Thirty-four years later an estimated 187,000 were enrolled, the most significant increase of any of the levels of education (Pendidikan, 76).

B. Recent Developments in Education

In spite of these impressive improvements, it has only been very recently that the government started to give official acknowledgement to the problem of disparities in education. The Second Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita II 1974/75 - 1978/79) proclaimed that Indonesia would move to eradicate inter-regional disparities in development to promote greater equality of opportunity for the benefit of the nation and the region.

The Ministries of Education and Home Affairs responded to these directives by setting a national target of 85-percent attendance in primary school for youth aged seven to 12; since the target is 85-percent cohort attendance, not simply first-grade enrollment, implied in this is the notion of continuance through graduation. The deadline for raising present attendance from 13 million to 23 million in primary schools is the end of Repelita II.

The government proceeded to undertake a massive school-construction program which would add 21,000 six-room primary schools to the 66,578 which existed in 1974, an increase of 31 percent. The government believed that this program, called SD Inpres (or Presidential Instructions for Primary Schools), would achieve a broader and more equal distribution of educational opportunities. An additional 10,000 existing primary schools (15 percent of the total) were to receive financial assistance to undertake repairs necessary to increase their absorptive capacity (Pendidikan, 107).

The educational-reform strategy also includes the notion of equal distribution of facilities and teachers. Each SD Inpres is required to have a minimum of four full-time teachers graduated from the Teacher Training Schools (SPG). The World Bank provided a $39 million loan for the preparation and printing of 138 million textbooks in the Ministry's continuing effort to improve the curricular content and to assure each student access to a few free textbooks. Since the use of textbooks where none existed before would present special problems to the teachers, the new program also included provision for the in-service training of 102,653 primary-school teachers (IBRD, Third Education Project; Pendidikan, 108).

Convinced that the high fees charged by the primary schools (tuition, monthly charges, and equipment fees) might have denied school attendance among the economically disadvantaged, attendance at an SD Inpres is (officially) without cost to parents. The establishment of a graduated schedule of payment for the other primary schools (SPP) is a further step in seeking to assure that access is not limited by parental income (Beeby, 43).

At the secondary level, the Ministry called for an 82-percent progression rate between primary and junior secondary and between junior secondary and senior secondary level schools. A school-construction program was drafted but the recent economic crisis apparently necessitated an indefinite postponement. While no elimination of school fees has been approved, the graduated schedule of payment (SPP) has been implemented to reduce some of the burden of meeting school costs for the poor. Finally, nearly 4.8 million textbooks were distributed to schools throughout Indonesia and several hundred secondary-school science laboratories were built (Pendidikan, 108).

In a nation where the concept of equal access to educational opportunities did not even have a theoretical acceptance in the late 1940's, it is now an integral part of Indonesia's development plans. As the above aggregate data show, there is no doubt that considerable progress has been made in the expansion of facilities, and the increase in enrollment since independence, but there are still great disparities in educational opportunities. Wide variations are still found between the regions--and the disparities are getting wider, not smaller, in spite of the SD Inpres and other government-intervention strategies.

V. REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITIES

Rather than closing the disparities gap which 350 years of Dutch rule produced, the policies and programs of the Republic of Indonesia have actually built upon and widened them. The rich regions have gotten much richer and the poorer regions, while certainly benefitting, have found their position relative to the other areas no better off than they were before.

TABLE 6
PERCENT OF SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION
ATTENDING SCHOOL (1971)

	Primary	Jr. Sec.	Sr. Sec.	Combined Jr./Sr. Sec.
Indonesia	45.3	7.8	3.6	11.4
N. Sulawesi	94.6	15.2	4.2	19.4
W. Sumatra	56.1	9.4	4.9	14.3
E. Java	37.7	6.6	2.9	9.5

Source: Proppipda, 1975.

East Java, economically the wealthiest of the three provinces, having oil, heavy industry, and a deep-water port serving the eastern part of Java, has a very low cohort participation rate at all levels of education. In 1963 its participation rates were only slightly below the national averages (Appendix, Table 20); by 1971 it had slipped further behind. The reverse is the case for West Sumatra and especially for North Sulawesi. At the primary level, North Sulawesi and West Sumatra were respectively 32 and ten percentage points above the national average in 1963. This spread had increased to 49 and 19 points by 1971. This same tendency is also to be found at both the junior and senior secondary level (Carpenter, Social Demand, 26).

A. School Status and Inequalities

In other areas as well as the colonial continuities are found in Indonesia 30 years after independence. School status is one such area. Government support is dependent upon the status of the schools. If the school is state (negeri), fully subsidized (bersubsidi), or semi-subsidized (berbantuan), the state will pay the full-time teachers' salaries and often assist in certain operational cost subsidies. Nothing is provided except accredation and limited supervision if the school is fully private (swasta penuh). Schools which start out on temporary probation with the private status within two or three years typically can expect to progress to the next higher, and

TABLE 7
SCHOOL STATUS: PERCENT OF SCHOOLS FULLY PRIVATE (1971), BY LEVEL AND PROVINCE

	Primary	Junior Secondary	Senior Secondary
Indonesia (26 provinces)	10.5	49.4	49.9
North Sulawesi	7.5	44.0	42.0
West Sumatra	5.6	14.7	27.1
East Java	4.5	52.3	55.9

Source: Proppipda, 1975.

government-supported rank. To remain with the swasta status would necessitate the school charging very high fees just to remain open. Except for a very few private schools in the largest cities, it is widely acknowledged that these schools do not provide "quality" education and find it difficult to attract students, let alone those from the wealthier families (Beeby, 28).

The decision to grant state status to schools is one residing with the central government. This power could be executed in ways to foster more equal educational opportunities by concentrating on those provinces with a high percentage of private schools. By quickly moving them to state status, private-school costs would be reduced and the quality of the education could be improved.

At the primary level, few schools in any of the three provinces have retained their initial fully private status. It is at the junior- and senior-secondary levels that clear patterns of disparity are to be found. In North Sulawesi and especially East Java, their numbers are great, while in West Sumatra nearly all are state-supported. However, these data do not accurately represent the case of North Sulawesi. Nearly 30 percent of the fully private schools have retained their church affiliation and are not eligible for state status. With a teaching staff often provided by the church and

financial assistance coming from church groups in Europe and the United States, the need for government support is not imperative. This situation does not exist to any great extent in East Java.

Once again, in spite of the expressed desire of the government to reduce past inequalities in access to education, colonial continuities are to be found. Private schools which are not only more expensive for parents but also of lower quality strive for state recognition. In East Java the automatic promotion of private schools to state status after a probationary period is not occurring. After independence, those provinces which already had a strong educational tradition during the Dutch colonial period have continued to be favored where it makes the greatest difference in the running of the schools--financial assistance from the state (Appendix, Table 19).

B. School Type and Inequalities

It is especially true in East Java that education is continuing to widen the gulf between the well-to-do classes and the poor, much as it was during colonial times. This element of social reproduction is not being reduced even with the increased attention to equal educational opportunities. The status of schools is one indication. However, there is a much more subtle way in which social reproduction is being maintained, namely through the type of schools students may attend.

TABLE 8
PERCENT ATTENDANCE AT SECONDARY SCHOOLS (1971), BY PROVINCE AND TYPE

	General Academic*	Vocational/Technical**
North Sulawesi	70.3	29.7
West Sumatra	60.0	39.1
East Java	65.8	34.2

*SMP/SMA
**ST/STM/SMEP/SMEA/SKKP/SKKA

Source: Statistik Indonesia, 1971.

The variations in attendance as shown in the above table are not great but they do not reveal the existing private social demands for education found in the respective provinces. Rather, they indicate where children are permitted to enroll. A study of private social demand for education in Indonesia found that there is a very high demand for general academic education in East Java, primarily because parents expect it to lead to employment in the public sector. However, because of the lack of school places in the SMPs and the SMAs, youth have had to enroll in their second- or third-choice schools, i.e., a vocational or a technical school. Nearly 55 percent of the youth already attending such schools indicated that they would prefer the general academic school (Caprenter, Social Demand, 34). By distributing school openings in disproportionate numbers to the elite to the exclusion of others, the elite in East Java continues to legitimize its position while appearing to open up access to secondary education.

In North Sulawesi, if we were to add the attendance at the Commercial Secondary schools (SMEP/SMEA) to that in the academic schools, 84 percent of the youth would be covered. Both of these types of schools in North Sulawesi graduate youth who can either continue with their studies in institutions of higher education or enter the public sector as civil servants--both desirable options leading to careers which the Menandonese and Minahasans held during the Dutch colonial period and continue to hold (and aspire to) in the Republic of Indonesia. Certainly a degree of social reproduction is to be found in North Sulawesi (particularly between the Christian and Islamic areas), but the more "democratic" base upon which contemporary education was built has made this much less pervasive. Ninety-four percent of the children will attend primary school and 74 percent of the graduates will enter a secondary school, usually the one of their first choice, indicating a more open system.

The higher percentage of attendance in the vocational and technical schools in West Sumatra is as expected. the Minangkabau continue their insular trade and mercantile activities. Recently this has been expanded to include ship-building and related infrastructure development. A study conducted among 245 Ninik-mamak (traditional leaders in the Minangkabau matri-lineal society) found that 32 percent would prefer general academic education for their children; the remainder preferred the vocational-technical schools since this would permit them to become self-employed (and fulfill their merantau obligations) (Carpenter, LKAAM, 26). With 82 percent of the students who complete their primary education able to continue on to secondary schools in West Sumatra, education continues not only to be in high demand but also to be made available of a type and in numbers adequate to meet that demand.

C. Social Class and Educational Stratification

Table 9 summarizes the social class and educational stratification found in Indonesia today. While data are not available by province, the aggregated data clearly show that the elite interest group advantaged which was fostered by the Dutch policy of divide and rule continues, with educational advantages being reproduced rather than diminished by those who hold unequal positions of power, income, and social status. In spite of the nation-wide impressive gains made in access to schooling, particularly at the primary level, inequities persist in those areas of Indonesia where the Dutch consolidated and reinforced the position of the aristocracy. Where missionary activity was particularly strong (North Sulawesi) or where the local population was less subjected to Dutch manipulation (West Sumatra), a more egalitarian society is to be found today, and this is reflected in the education data presented in this paper. The elite in Java continue to use the schools to reproduce the economic, social, and political relations of the province. This has led to further exacerbations of inequalities in access to formal schooling.

TABLE 9

INDONESIAN SOCIAL CLASS AND EDUCATIONAL STRATIFICATION*

Social Class**	% of population	per capita expenditure***	geographical location of group	Typical Occupation	Languages	% expenditure on education per yr.	Type of school attended	Length of schooling	$\bar{x}$ years of education
Elite	6.5	$384/yr.	Urban areas & provincial capitals	Owners & Senior Military Officers	Bahasa Indonesia & English and/or Dutch	1.2	Elite state or private schools in urban areas. Gen. Acad.	Pre-school through elite university	10.8
Middle	26.1	216	Urban areas & district capitals	Managers, professionals, bureaucrats, skilled workers	Bahasa Indonesia & some English	1.5	Public: General Academic & Vocational/ Technical	Primary through jr. secondary, some sr. secondary/ provincial university	8.0
Lower	67.4	96	Rural areas & urban periphery	Unskilled workers & agricultural workers	Local Dialect & some Bahasa Indonesia	1.8	Public & rural private schools; Vocational-technical schools	Some primary/some jr. secondary rural areas	5.5

*Source: Unpublished data, BP3K, "Studi Kelanjutan," 1973; Proppipda Sumbar "Aspirasi Masuk," 1976. For an earlier comparable effort in a Latin American setting, see R. G. Paulston, Society, Schools, and Progress in Perú. (Pergamon Press, 1969).

**The data source did not include families with children who had never attended schools (approximately 15 percent) nor families with children enrolled in the top three universities in Indonesia. As a result, the polition of the elite is actually much more privileged and that of the lower class, much less "privileged" than indicated in this table.

***The study included a series of detailed questions relating to household expenditures. This strategy was selected over one trying to measure income since previous studies had shown the self-reporting of income to be unreliable in Indonesia.

VI. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

In light of this review of colonial continuities, interest-group advantage, and attempts over the past 30 years to promote greater equality of educational opportunities in Indonesia, what are the conclusions to be drawn?

The gains in enrollment at all levels have been very impressive. Qualitative improvements have also been noteworthy. Indonesia can rightfully be proud of these advances. Yet it must be noted that this is a worldwide phenomenon. However, as we have seen, quantitative expansion and qualitative improvements have not meant the reduction in regional disparities which have continued unabated for well over 350 years.

At the primary level, the private social demand for education has grown and the government responded with the SD Inpres program. Yet, in spite of this school-construction program, enrollments of the 7-12 school-age population still range from a low of 38 percent in East Java to a high of 95 percent in North Sulawesi. If Indonesia truly desires to provide equal educational opportunities between regions, it is imperative that educational planning, which presently is centrist, be transferred, in part, to the regions themselves, for it is very doubtful that the establishment of national norms and the translation of them into national programs of action will ever eliminate the inequalities. As we have seen, one outcome of the centrist process has actually been an exacerbation of disparities. Regional planning will enable the regions with ecological differences and a different consumer tastes with regard to education to prepare viable alternatives for the development of intervention strategies for equal educational opportunities.

A. Regional Planning

In Indonesia, the recent establishment of province-based planning units (Bagian Perencanaan) with the Provincial Office of Education was based upon the premise that the "deconcentration" of some of the planning responsibilities would promote better vertical planning links, thereby facilitating more effective modifications of the centrally prepared programs to meet

province-specific development requirements (Carpenter, "Regional Planning," p. 6). This objective has really not been achieved. As important as the planning units are, they have absolutely no power of their own within the centralized planning process and are totally devoid of resources. Except for a few decisions related to the implementation, following central guidelines of course, all policy and decision-making authority is retained by the central government. As a result, the units remain ineffective in developing educational interventions that meet the needs specific to the region concerned. Obviously, the same intervention strategies cannot be imposed upon every region. The very different colonial experiences require unique regional approaches to educational development. Regionalization of planning will make it more likely that the interventions will be more viable.

The SD Inpres program is a case in point. The total number of schools a province received was a central decision. The only role the province played was in the allocation of the new schools within a province and then the selection of the actual school site (school location). The program, as a result, has not greatly advanced the cause of equal access to education between the regions.

The central elite is still a long way from granting regional planning responsibilities to the provinces but such will be necessary if regional equality is to be realized. I suggest that the government must strengthen the planning units by permitting them to prepare their own regional-development plans to meet national norms. The continued imposition of centrally prepared programs of action from above will only maintain present patterns of inequality. To make the planning units effective, the distribution of resources must be made not on the basis of population of the region but on the type of intervention determined by each province to be essential to reduce inequalities. This will require greater provincial authority for program development and greater control over resource allocations and expenditures.

Should this authority and control occur, it is quite possible that very different strategies may be suggested, with both formal and non-formal education interventions being possible, particularly at the primary level.

B. Education and Social Justice

At the secondary level, the phenomenon of social reproduction is much stronger than at the primary level. It is maintained by the continuation of high schools fees and rigid entrance examinations. In 1972 over a third of the youth attending secondary schools came from the highest socio-economic class, yet this class represents only five percent of the population of Indonesia. The Social Demand study also determined that the final selection of school type was influenced by the cost of education in the schools. Over 25 percent of the parents reported that they selected a less-preferred school for their children because the costs were less. The yearly private costs of a vocational-technical school averaged Rupiah 12,000 (US$29) while the elitist general academic education costs over Rupiah 15,000 ($36). This difference is significant when one recalls that the yearly per-capita income in Indonesia was less than $100 (Carpenter, Social Demand, pp. 46, 73, 76, 79). The high cost of secondary education, particularly for the SMPs and SMAs, is an impediment to the spread of education, especially in an overwhelmingly poor country like Indonesia. The institution of graduated school fees (SPP) did not resolve the problem at all, as witnessed by the mass student protests which followed. In Indonesia, as elsewhere, high school fees is one of the more regressive forms of taxation whose incidence falls most heavily on the poor who generally have larger families. The Dutch charged dearly for the privilege of obtaining a secondary education, with the result that only a very few outside the aristocracy could attend. The privilege to attend remains largely elitist today, with the Ministry of Education, dominated by the elite, disproportionately distributing funds to the schools preferred by the elite.

Certainly, the reduction in or abolition of tuition and other school fees would help promote greater access to secondary education for the poorer families but it must be remembered that these school costs are not the only financial burden connected with school attendance. A child who has been working to help support his family, if suddenly able to enroll in free schools, would be denying his family this added and often essential income if he did so. It is not sufficient, therefore, that school costs be reduced or even eliminated. The Indonesian Government must provide financial support to students coming from poor families. To date, the government has done nothing in this area. In 1975, 3,500 students received such financial assistance, or less than 0.2 percent of the secondary-school enrollment (Pendidikan, 107).

At the secondary level the Indonesian government must lower school costs (it is still impossible to eliminate them) and standardize them so the costs of each type are the same. The government must also drastically increase the scholarship support for students from poorer families. The provision of scholarships should be based upon social justice rather than "merit" to assure that children from lower socio-economic backgrounds are not excluded because of past inequalities at the primary level. When necessary, compensatory help must be provided to enable those disadvantaged because of previous educational disparities to compete successfully.

C. Education and the Quota System

Entrance examinations were employed by the Dutch to regulate the flow of Indonesians within the Dutch school system. The same practice is followed today, but with a new twist, that of buying one's way into a school. If a child hopes to attend a particular school, he must take a competitive examination. A high score, however, may not guarantee acceptance since who you are (socio-economic status) and how much you can pay (under the table) are of equal or perhaps greater importance. A low score probably will

not exclude a child if he can purchase his seat. What purpose, therefore, is served by the entrance examinations?

The examination system is a means for the elite classes in power to directly or indirectly restrict enrollment in the prestigious schools to their own kind. Of the students attending SMAs, 32 percent came from the highest socio-economic class versus less than ten percent in the vocational-technical senior-secondary schools. On the other hand, nearly 50 percent of the children in the vocational-technical schools were from a low socio-economic class while only 20 percent in the SMAs were from this class (Carpenter, Social Demand, p. 73).

While it is true that many of the children from the well-to-do classes had access to better-quality junior-secondary schools (a result of the discriminatory practices already described) and could be expected to perform better on these tests, certainly the enrollment differences by socio-economic class cannot be explained by entrance scores alone. Social reproduction explains most of the difference.

There is no easy solution to this problem. The opening up of secondary education to all is beyond the financial means of Indonesia. As a result, entrance examinations will continue to be used to select the "best" students for the few places available. Nor can it be expected that the elite in positions of power will voluntarily refrain from using their power and wealth to gain access to the prestigious schools. The practice of buying a place in school is illegal in Indonesia; perhaps with closer inspection of the examination process, with a neutral examining board, and with the public posting of examination scores, there may be some reduction in the incidence of purchase of attendance, but it is doubtful that it will ever be completely eliminated.

However, to promote more equal access to educational opportunities at the secondary level, something more must be considered. At the regional level, a quota system should be established whereby students from a disadvantaged socio-economic background could be guaranteed admission

regardless of examination scores. (Or perhaps those above a proficiency minimum would be admitted.) If linked with a scholarship program, this system could be particularly effective. It will be necessary, of course, to prepare the schools to handle students admitted under the quota system; compensatory classes may have to be formed and teachers and administrators prepared for the new demands which will accompany the admission of this new type of student. Certainly the potential advantages far outweigh the difficulties which might occur during the introduction of the quota system. The notion of a quota system is not new to Indonesia since one is being applied to restrict the number of Chinese who may attend elite universities. Perhaps it is now time for consideration of a positive quota system for the poor.

Clearly such interventions will be costly. With oil, Indonesia can no longer be considered impoverished, but, with a population approaching 130 million, this nation can ill afford extravagance. It must be noted, however, that Indonesia's public expenditure on education, as a percentage of the GNP, is not particularly high, even in comparison with other Asian countries.

TABLE 10
PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION (% of GNP)

Country	Percent
Indonesia (1973)*	2.98
Philippines (1970)	2.6
Sri Lanka (1970)	4.2
Burma (1971)	3.0
Japan (1971)	4.3
South Korea (1971)	4.2
West Malaysia (1971)	6.4
Pakistan (1971)	1.4
Singapore (1971)	2.9
Thailand (1971)	3.6

*Pendidikan di Indonesia, p. 10

Source: Progress of Education in the Asian Region. Bangkok: UNESCO, 1975, p. 141.

In fact, for the two years preceeding 1973, public expenditure on education in Indonesia averaged 3.98 percent, indicating a decrease of one percent. This is extremely important since the cost of education is certain to increase. Even to maintain the present rate of expansion with a population which is expected to double in less than 25 years will require the continued commitment of the government to do more than in previous years. To undertake the reforms suggested above, public expenditures will have to be increased. But even this will not be sufficient. Other reforms must also be considered.

D. Reform of the Formal System

I also contend that it is imperative that Indonesia consider the reform of the existing model of formal education if greater regional equality in educational opportunities is to be realized. Certainly greater attention to non-formal education is appropriate, particularly in the rural areas, but it is likely that private social demand for formal education will remain predominant, especially for those who see the individual returns to be greater from formal school attendance. Given this likelihood, the major attention of the government must be directed toward reform within the formal system.

J. P. Naik has suggested five measures to transform the Indian formal system to education (Equality..., p. 19); four of these seem particularly relevant to Indonesia as she strives to achieve greater educational equality, namely:

1) The single-point entry system should be replaced by a multiple-point entry under which it will be open for older children... to join schools in separate classes especially designed for them.

2) The sequential character of the system must go; and it should be possible for older children to join the prescribed courses at any time and also to complete them in shorter or longer periods of time.

3) The exclusive emphasis that is laid in the present system on full-time institutional instruction should be replaced by a large programme of part-time education, arranged to suit the convenience of children who are required to work.

4) The exclusive emphasis on the utilization of full-time professional teachers should go. An attempt should be made to utilize all the teaching resources available in the local community; and the services of part-time local teachers and even of senior students should be fully utilized for promoting instruction the elementary schools.

These reforms in the formal education system, combined with the equalization of school costs by level, the provision of scholarships on the basis of "social justice," and the institution of a quota system for entrance of students from poorer families to secondary schools, will not be easy to introduce. They will be expensive. Also opposition, particularly from those favored by the present system, can be expected. However, if the regional disparities in education which the elite has continued to legitimize since the early period of colonial rule to the present are to be eliminated, nothing less than radical change will do. The tentative moves toward regional "deconcentration" of planning is definitely a positive step. Should real power and access to funding be granted to these units, then a movement toward the democratization or equalization of regional educational opportunities may well be possible.

VII. GLOSSARY

A. Schools - Republic of Indonesia

Primary Level

SD	Sekolah Dasar (Primary School, six years' duration)

Junior Secondary Level

SLTP	Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama (First/Junior level Secondary School, three years' duration)
SMP	Sekolah Menengah Pertama (Junior General Academic)
SMEP	Sekolah Menengah Ekonomi Pertama (Junior Commercial)
SKKP	Sekolah Kesejahteraan Keluarga Tingkat Pertama (Junior Home Economics)
ST	Sekolah Teknik (Junior Technical)

Senior Secondary Level

SLTA	Sekolah Lenjutan Tingkat Atas (Second/Senior Level Secondary School, three years' duration)
SMA	Sekolah Menengah Atas (Senior General Academic)
SMEA	Sekolah Menengah Ekonomi Atas (Senior Commercial)
SKKA	Sekolah Kesejahteraan Keluarga Tingkat Atas (Senior Home Economics)
STM	Sekolah Teknik Menengah (Senior Technical)
SPG	Sekolah Pendidikan Guru (Senior Teacher Training, for preparation of primary-school level teachers)

Higher Education

Perguruan Tinggi	Higher Education (first degree three years; second two years)
Universitas	University
IKIP	Institute Keguruan Ilmu Pendidikan (Teacher Training Institute)
Sarjana Mudah	First Degree, three years
Sarjana	Second Degree, five years (3 plus 2)

B. Schools during Dutch Colonial Period

Primary Level

Lager Onderwijs — Primary Level Schools

Westersch Lager Onderwijs — Primary School, seven years, language of instruction Dutch, for Europeans

Europeesche Lagereschool — Primary School, seven years, Dutch language, for Europeans and select Indonesians, established 1818.

Inlandscheschool I: Primary school, seven years, Dutch language
- -Hollandsch Chineescheschool (HCS) for Chinese, established 1908
- -Hollandsch Inlandscheschool (HIS) for Indonesians (elite), established 1914

Inlandscheschool II: Primary School, five years, local dialect, for Indonesians (called Village School)

Volksschool — Primary School, three years, local dialect, for Indonesians, established 1907.

Vervolgschool — Primary School, two years (after first five years), local dialect, for Indonesians, established 1914.

Schakelschool — Primary Level, 2 years after Village School, Dutch instruction, for Indonesians, established 1922.

Hoofdensschool — Primary Level, Elite school located in North Sulawesi, Dutch Language, established 1865.

Secondary Level

Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (MULO): Advanced Primary level, three to four years, Dutch language, for Indonesians and non-Europeans, established 1914.

Algemeene Middelbareschool (AMS): Secondary Level, three years after MULO, Dutch language, for Indonesians/Asians, established 1915.

Hoogere Burgerschool (HBS): Secondary Level, three or five years after ELS, Dutch language, for Europeans and Indonesian elite, established 1860.

Vakonderwijs: Secondary Level Vocational Schools

Ambachts Leergang: Secondary Level, five years, after Village School, local dialect, for Indonesians, established 1881. (wood/metal)

Ambachtsschool: Secondary Level, three years after HIS/HCS, Dutch language, for Europeans and Chinese, established 1881. (machine, wood, electronics)

Technisch Onderwijs: Secondary Level, three years after Ambachtsschool, Dutch language, for Europeans and Chinese, established 1906. (economics)

Handels Onderwijs: Secondary Level, three years after HIS/HCS, Dutch language, for Europeans and Chinese, established 1911. (commercial)

Landbouw Onderwijs: Secondary Level, three years after ELS/HIS, Dutch language, primarily for Europeans and Indonesian elite, established 1903. (agriculture)

Kweekschool: Secondary Level, four years after ELS, Dutch language, for Europeans and Indonesians, established 1851. (primary-school teachers)

Hollandsch Inlandsche Kweekschool: Secondary Level, six years after HIS/HCS, Dutch language, for Europeans, established 185?. (teachers for HIS/HCS)

Higher Education

Hooger Onderwijs: Higher Education

School Tot Opleiding Voor Indische Artsen (STOVIA): Higher Education, seven years after ELS (later from MULO and AMS), Dutch language, initially only for Europeans, established 1851/1913. (medicine)

Rechtsschool: Higher Education, three years after ELS, Dutch language, for Europeans, established 1909 (law).

Middelbaar Opleidingsschool Vor Indische Ambtenaren: Higher Education, three years, after MULO, Dutch language, for Indonesian elite, established 1927. (law/administration)

C. Schools During Japanese Occupation

Primary Level

Kokumin Gakko: Primary Level, six years, Indonesian language, for all children.

Secondary Level

SMP Sekolah Menengah Pertama, Junior Secondary Level, three years, Indonesian Language, open to all after Kokumin Gakko.

SMT — Sekolah Menengah Tinggi, Senior Secondary Level, three years, Indonesian language, open to all after SMP.

Ika Dai Gakko: Higher Education, seven years, Indonesian language, for Indonesians (medicine).

D. General Terms

Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan: Ministry of Education and Culture

Pesantren — Islamic Religious Schools

BP3K — Badan Penelitian dan Pembangunan Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (Office of Educational and Cultural Research and Development)

Proppipda — Proyek Perintis Perencanaan Pendidikan di Daerah (Regional Integrated Educational Planning Project)

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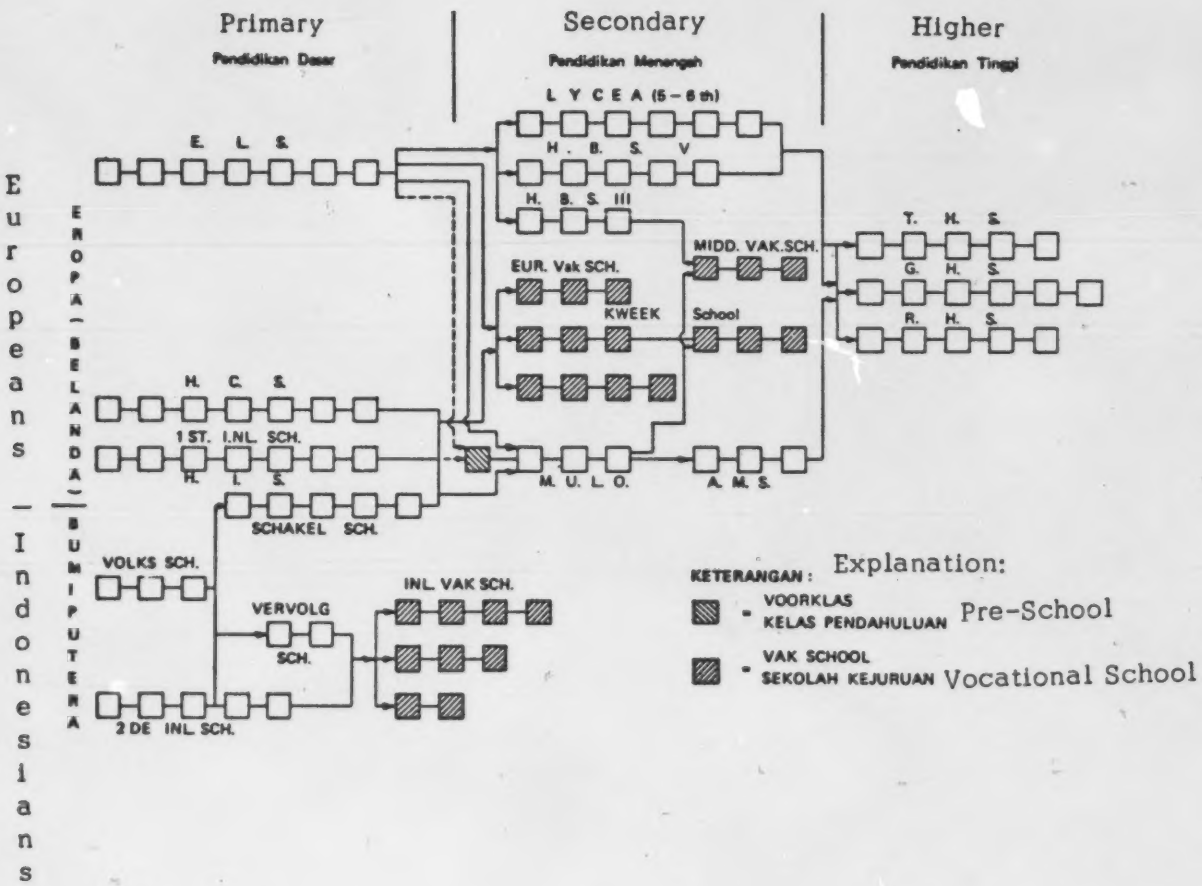
IX. APPENDICES

Diagram 1

SISTIM PERSEKOLAHAN JAMAN HINDIA BELANDA

Dutch Colonial Education System



Note:

E. L. S. = Europeesche Lagerschool
H. C. S. = Hollandsch Chineescheschool
H. I. S. = Hollandsch Inlandscheschool
H. B. S. = Hoogere Burgerschool
M. U. L. O. = Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs
A. M. S. = Algemeene Middelbareschool
T. H. S. = Tehcnesch Hogeschool
G. H. S. = Geneeskundige Hogeschool
R. H. S. = Rechts Hogeschool

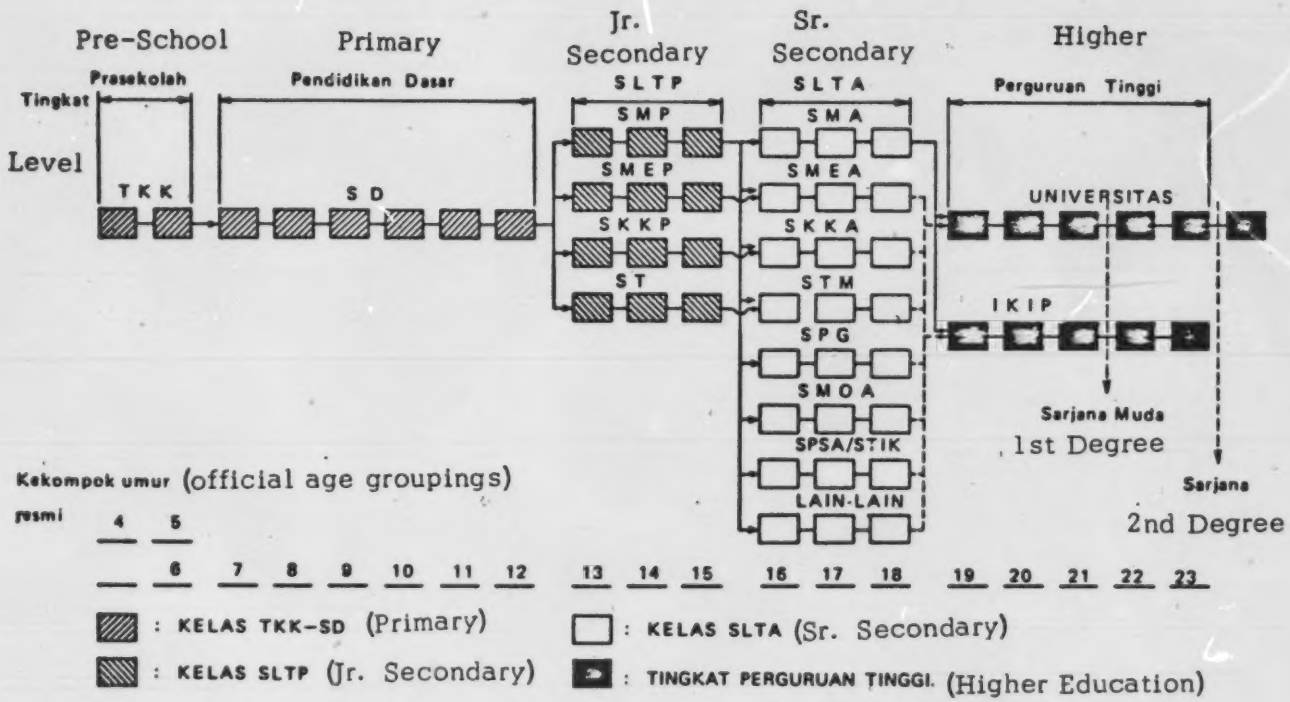
Source: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pendidikan di Indonesia, 1976, p. 42.

Diagram 2

SISTIM PERSEKOLAHAN SEKARANG

Republic of Indonesia

System of Education



Key:

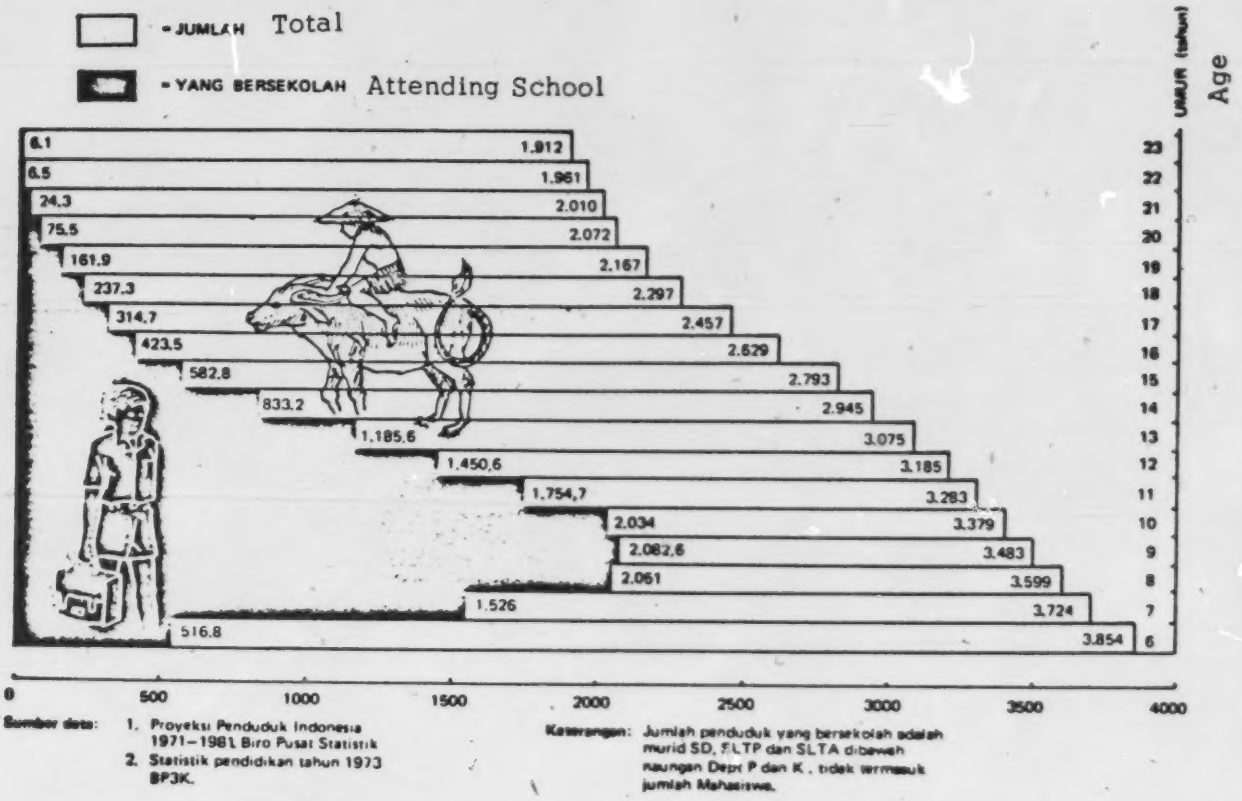
TKK: Pre-School	SMEA: Sr. Commercial
SD: Primary School	SKKA: Sr. Home Economics
SLTP: Junior Secondary Level	STM: Sr. Technical
SMP: Jr. General Academic	SPG: Sr. Teacher Training
SMEP: Jr. Commercial	SMDA: Sr. Physical Education
SKKP: Jr. Home Economics	SPSA/STIK: Sr. Special Education
ST: Jr. Technical	Lain-Lain: Other
SLTA: Senior Secondary Level	Universitas: Universities
SMA: Sr. General Academic	IKIP: Teacher Training Institutes

Source: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pendidikan di Indonesia, 1976, p. 42.

Diagram 3

PENDUDUK MENURUT UMUR DAN YANG BERSEKOLAH
TAHUN 1973
(dalam ribuan)

Population by Age and Education (in thousands)

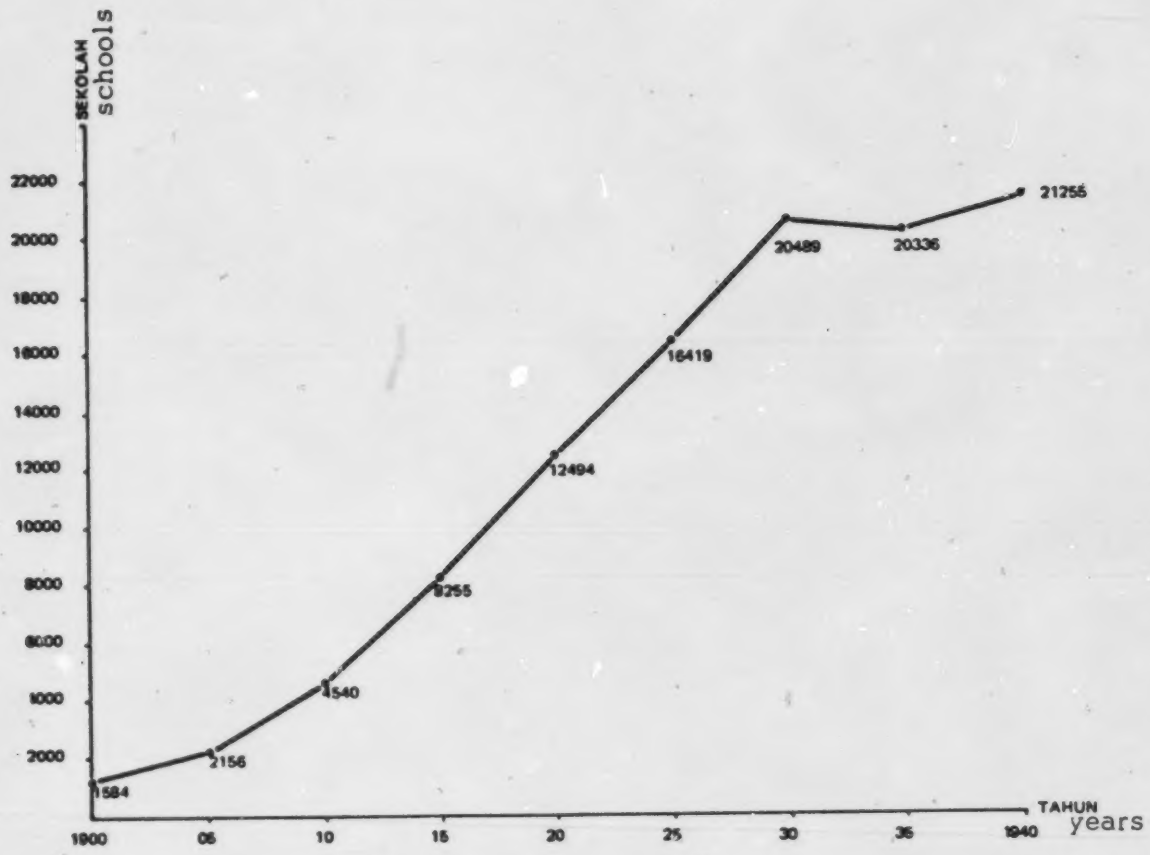


Source: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pendidikan di Indonesia, 1976, p. 64.

TABLE 1

PERKEMBANGAN SEKOLAH DASAR
1900 – 1940

Growth of Primary School Facilities

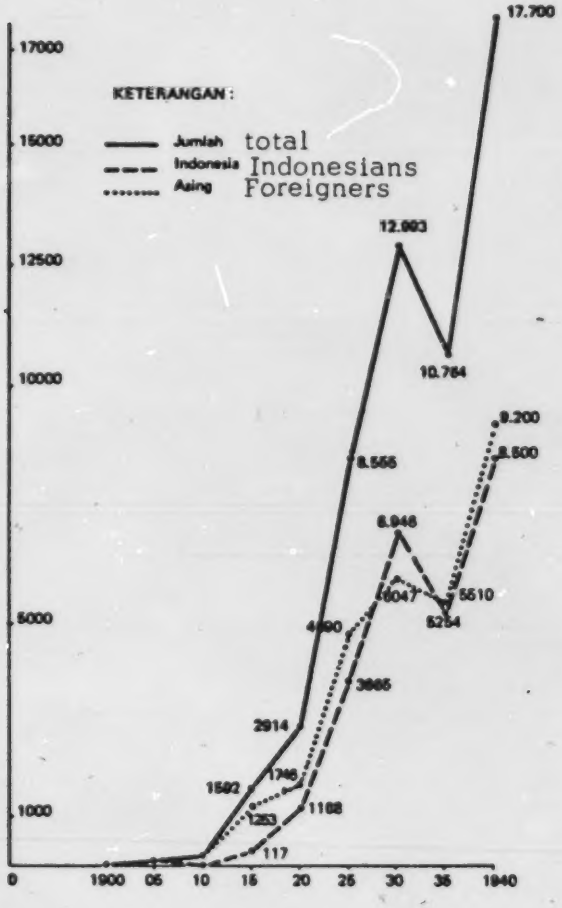


Source: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pendidikan di Indonesia 1976, p. 49.

TABLE 2

PERKEMBANGAN MURID SLTP
INDONESIA – ASING
1900–1940

Junior Secondary Level Enrollment



Source: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pendidikan di Indonesia, 1976, p. 50.

TABLE 3

PERKEMBANGAN MURID SLTA INDONESIA–ASING 1900 – 1940

Senior Secondary Enrollment

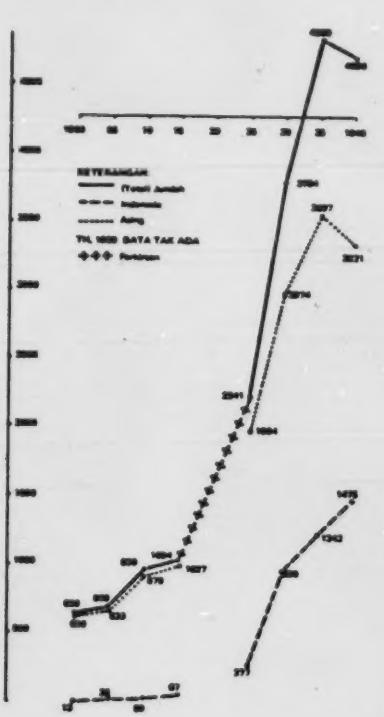
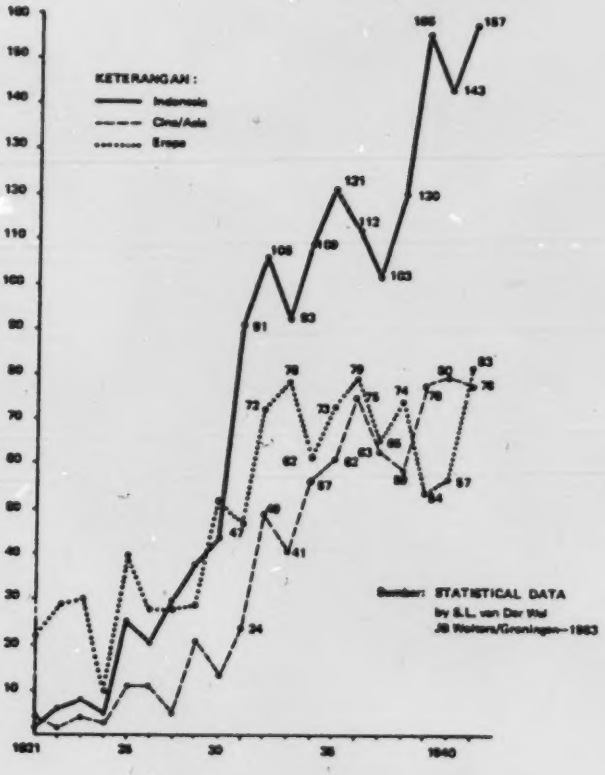


TABLE 4

PERKEMBANGAN JUMLAH MAHASISWA INDONESIA DAN ASING 1920/21–1939/40

University Level Enrollment



Sources: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pendidikan di Indonesia, 1976, p. 51.

Note:

_____total

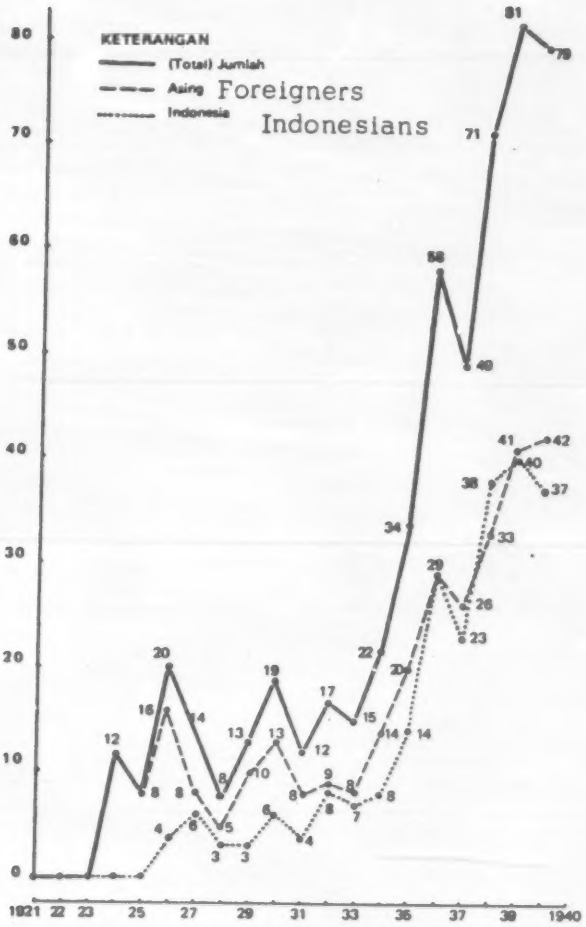
-----Indonesians

. . . . . Foreigners

TABLE 5

JUMLAH LULUSAN PERGURUAN TINGGI
INDONESIA – ASING
1921 – 1940

Graduates, Higher Education

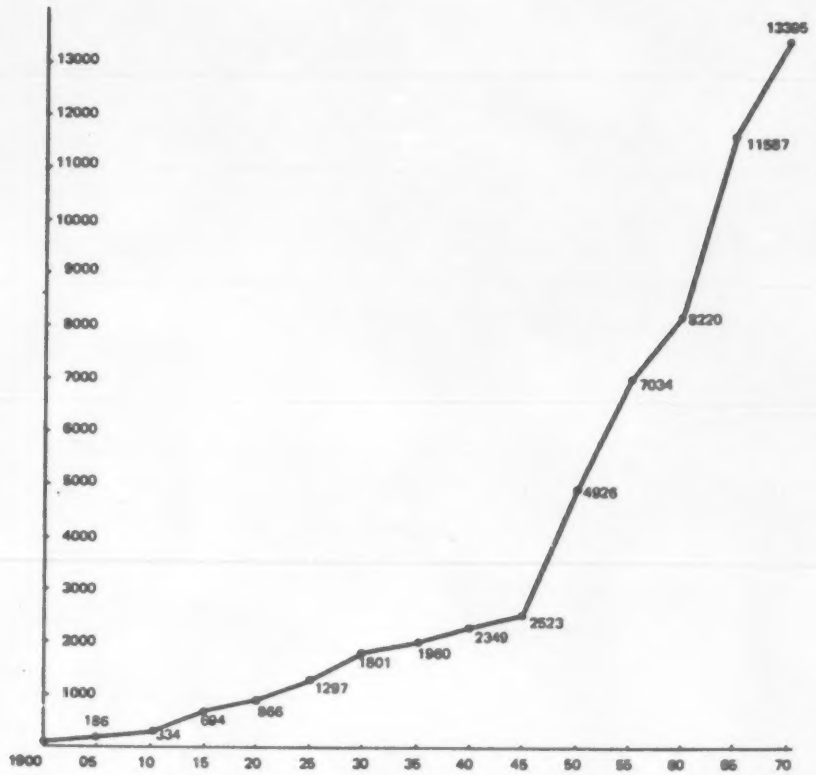


Source: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pendidikan di Indonesia, 1976, p. 52.

TABLE 6

PERKEMBANGAN JUMLAH MURID SD 1900 – 1970
(dalam ribuan)

Primary School Enrollment
(In Thousands)

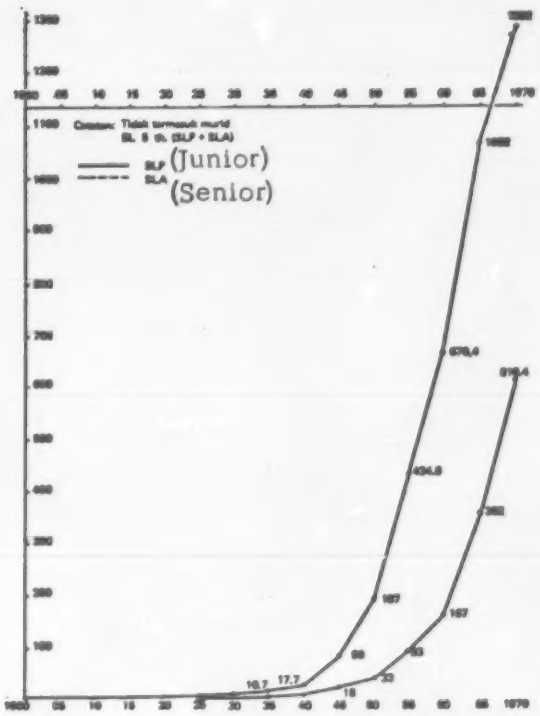


Source: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pendidikan di Indonesia, 1976, p. 53.

TABLE 7

PERKEMBANGAN JUMLAH MURID SLTP, SLTA
(dalam ribuan)
1900–1970

Enrollment Increase - Junior and Senior Levels

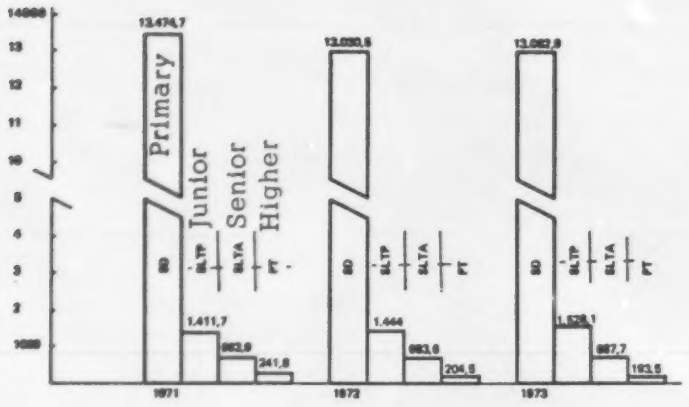


Source: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pendidikan di Indonesia, 1976, p. 54.

TABLE 8

PERKEMBANGAN MURID SD, SLTP, SLTA DAN PT 1971–1973
(dalam ribuan)

Enrollment Increase: Primary through Higher
(In Thousands)



Source: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pendidikan di Indonesia, 1976, p. 54.

TABLE 9

MURID SLTP 1971 – 1973
(dalam ribuan)

Junior Level Students
(thousands)

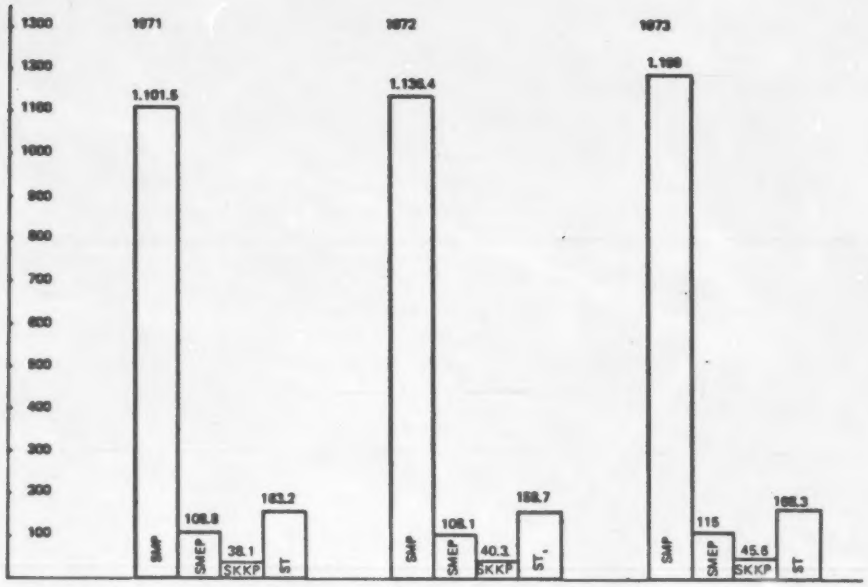
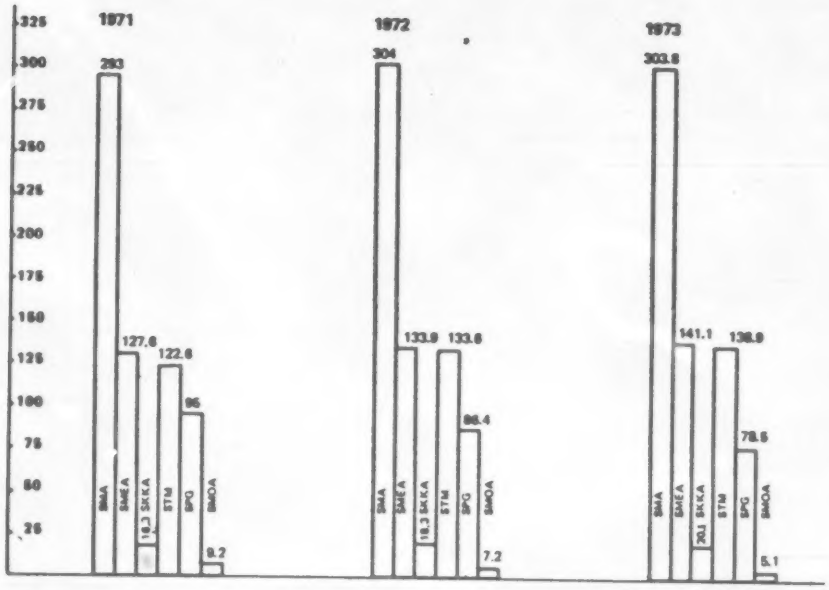


TABLE 10

MURID SLTA 1971–1973
(dalam ribuan)

Senior Level Students
(thousands)

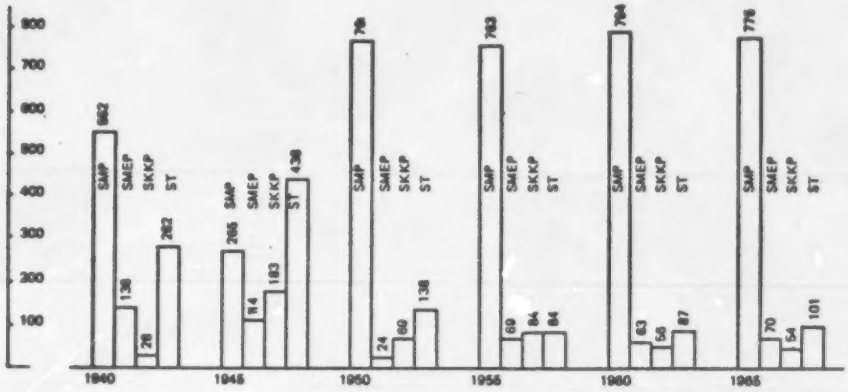


Sources: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pendidikan di Indonesia, 1976, p. 55.

TABLE 11

PERBANDINGAN JENIS SEKOLAH SLTP
1940 – 1965

Growth of Schools by Type (Junior Secondary)



Source: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pendidikan di Indonesia, 1976, p. 56.

TABLE 12

PERBANDINGAN JENIS SEKOLAH SLTP
1970 – 1973

Growth of Schools by Type (Junior Secondary)

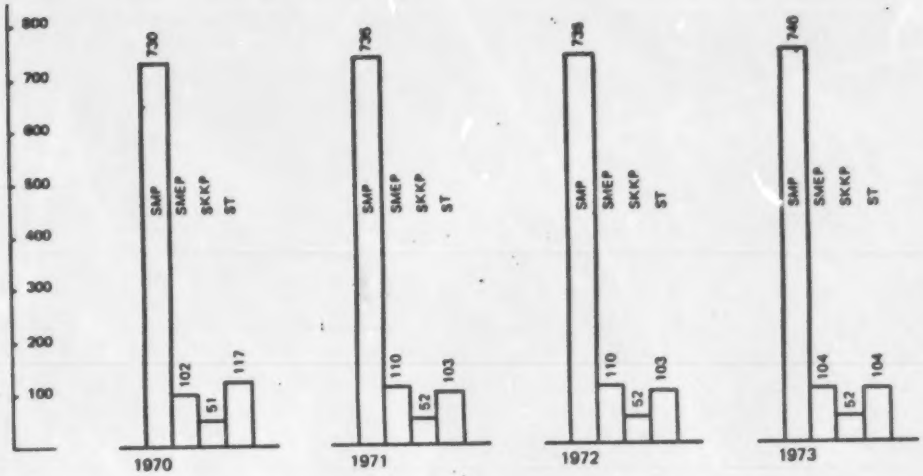
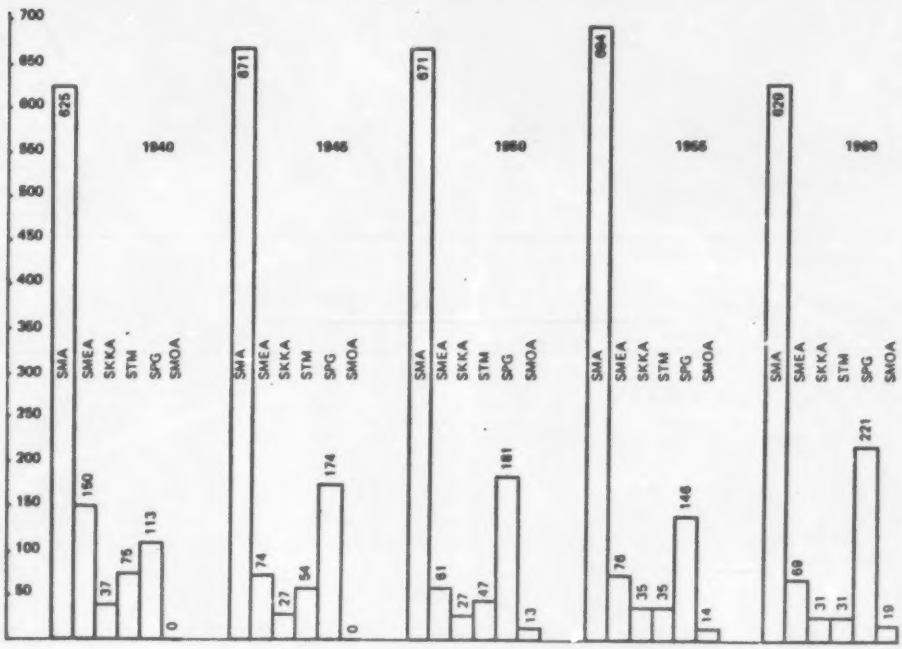


TABLE 13

PERBANDINGAN JENIS SEKOLAH SLTA
1940 – 1960

Growth of Schools by Type (Senior Secondary)



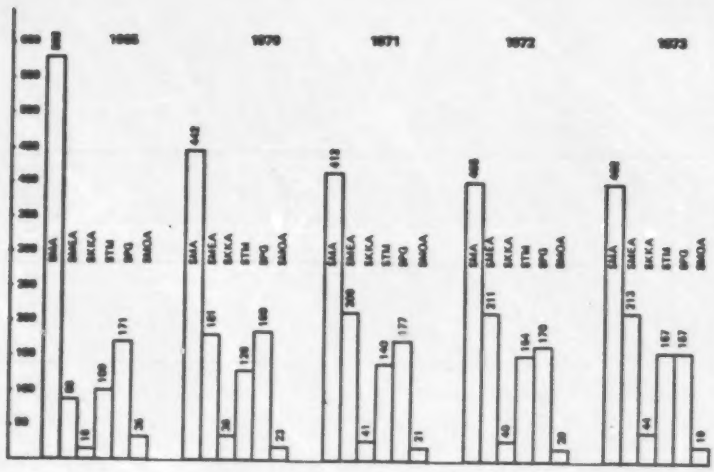
Sources: Departemen Pendidikan dan Debudayaan, Pendidikan di Indonesia, 1976, p. 57.

TABLE 14

PERBANDINGAN JENIS SEKOLAH SLTA

1966 – 1973

Growth of Schools by Type (Senior Level)

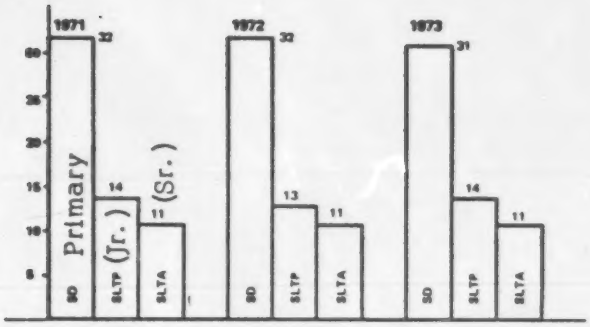


Source: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pendidikan di Indonesia, 1976, p. 58.

TABLE 15

RATIO MURID/GURU
SD, SLTP, SLTA
1971–1973

Ratio Pupils/Teachers



Source: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pendidikan di Indonesia, 1976, p. 59.

TABLE 16

School Facilities
Date of Construction
(Indonesia)

Level/Type of School	Date of Construction: Before 1921	1921-1940	1941-1950	1951-1960	After 1960	Total Schools**
Primary						
SD (Primary)	9.7	12.1	11.7	27.6	38.9	49,205
Junior Level						
General	0.2	0.9	21.7	22.1	55.1	4,648
Technical	1.1	3.0	14.8	22.4	56.8	664
Vocational	0.0	1.2	7.5	36.7	57.5	1,041
Senior Level						
General	0.5	0.4	7.3	38.2	53.7	1,075
Technical	0.3	0.5	1.1	11.2	86.9	375
Vocational	0.0	0.2	3.4	22.7	73.4	1,092
Total Junior Secondary	0.4	1.2	18.7	24.4	55.2	6,353
Total Senior Secondary	0.2	0.3	4.8	27.6	67.1	2,542
Combined Junior/Senior Levels	0.2	0.9	14.7	25.3	58.8	8,895

**Excluding those unknown dates of construction

Source: Statistik Persekolahan (School Statistics) 1972. Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta, 1974.

TABLE 17

Percent of Population Educated
By Level of Education and Age Groupings

Level of Education	Age Groupings 10-29	30-54	over 54
INDONESIA			
None or 1-2 yrs. SD	66.1	87.1	95.2
Completed Primary SD	27.0	10.2	4.1
Education Beyond SD	6.0	2.8	0.3
WEST SUMATRA			
None or 1-2 yrs. SD	65.2	82.9	92.6
Completed Primary SD	26.3	13.9	6.0
Education Beyond SD	8.5	3.0	1.0
EAST JAVA			
None or 1-2 yrs. SD	70.9	88.5	93.7
Completed Primary SD	23.7	9.4	4.8
Education Beyond SD	5.4	2.6	1.5
NORTH SULAWESI			
None or 1-2 yrs. SD	53.5	81.9	93.5
Completed Primary SD	36.2	14.2	6.5
Education Beyond SD	10.4	3.9	0.0

Source: Sifat Demografi Penduduk Indonesia, Biro Pusat Statistik, Jakarta, 1963.

TABLE 18

Percent of School-Age Population Attending School, 1971

Level/Type of School	Province			Total Indonesia	Christian Areas
	West Sumatra	East Java	North Sulawesi		
Primary					
SD (Primary)	56.1	37.7	94.6	45.3	58.7
Junior Secondary					
Totals	9.4	6.6	15.2	7.8	12.6
General	7.0	5.0	12.1	6.1	10.4
Technical	1.6	1.1	0.9	0.9	0.8
Vocational	0.8	0.5	2.2	0.8	1.4
Senior Secondary					
Totals	4.9	2.9	4.2	3.6	6.3
General	2.0	1.2	2.5	1.6	3.4
Technical	1.1	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.8
Vocational	1.8	1.1	1.2	1.4	2.1
Combined Junior-Senior Secondary	14.3	9.5	19.4	11.4	18.9

Source: Laporan Statistik Tentang Trend Pembangunan di Sumatera Barat. PROPPIPDA, 1975.

TABLE 19

School Status: Percent State Schools, 1971

Level/Type of Schools	Province			Totals	
	West Sumatra	East Java	North Sulawesi	Indonesia	Christian Areas
Primary					
SD (Primary)	94.4	95.5	92.5	89.5	84.1
Junior Secondary					
Totals	86.3	47.7	56.0	50.6	53.7
General	93.8	37.2	53.7	44.2	50.0
Technical	94.4	85.4	91.7	80.6	68.8
Vocational	84.8	41.6	57.7	60.8	66.1
Senior Secondary					
Totals	72.9	44.1	58.0	50.1	51.8
General	80.0	44.1	71.8	51.8	53.1
Technical	64.3	38.8	25.0	43.2	37.3
Vocational	71.0	53.7	65.9	50.9	55.7
Combined Junior-Senior Secondary	72.5	46.8	56.5	50.5	53.2

Source: Laporan Statistik Tentang Trend Pembangunan di Sumatera Barat. PROPPIPDA. 1975.

Note: State Schools include those fully funded and partially subsidized; Private Schools receive no government assistance.

TABLE 20

Percentage of Students Who are Males, 1971

Level/Type of Schools	Province			Total	
	West Sumatra	East Java	North Sulawesi	Indonesia	Christian Areas
Primary					
SD (Primary)	52.0	56.0	51.0	55.0	53.8
Junior Secondary					
Totals	51.0	63.0	53.0	62.0	62.0
General	50.0	58.0	53.0	61.0	61.0
Technical	100.0	100.0	96.0	99.0	98.0
Vocational	67.0	51.0	52.0	66.0	65.0
Senior Secondary					
Totals	58.0	63.0	51.0	66.0	65.0
General	61.0	62.0	63.0	67.0	71.0
Technical	99.0	98.0	95.0	98.0	97.0
Vocational	45.0	42.0	41.0	52.0	48.0
Combined Junior-Senior Secondary	53.6	62.9	52.2	63.4	62.7

Source: Laporan Statistik Tentang Trend Pembangunan di Sumatera Barat. PROPPIPDA. 1975.

TABLE 21

Ratio: Pupils/Schools, 1971

Level/Type of School	Province			Total Indonesia	Christian Areas
	West Sumatra	East Java	North Sulawesi		
Primary					
SD (Primary)	197	241	222	203	210
Junior Secondary					
Totals	206	227	132	191	177
General	232	228	133	204	188
Technical	171	248	177	214	197
Vocational	109	184	117	119	117
Senior Secondary					
Totals	310	271	201	240	227
General	325	266	277	256	277
Technical	390	390	231	332	227
Vocational	263	236	179	198	186
Combined Junior-Senior Secondary	232	239	146	204	190

Source: Laporan Statistik Tentang Trend Pembangunan di Sumatera Barat. PROPPIPDA. 1975.

TABLE 22

Ratio: Students/Teachers, 1971

Level/Type of School	Province: West Sumatra	East Java	North Sulawesi	Total Indonesia	Christian Areas
Primary					
SD (Primary)	29.3	36.5	36.7	34.8	34.6
Junior Secondary					
Totals	11.9	13.9	16.1	13.7	14.2
General	13.1	14.7	18.1	14.9	15.7
Technical	10.4	12.4	18.5	11.3	11.5
Vocational	8.2	11.5	9.9	9.8	8.7
Senior Secondary					
Totals	12.9	12.7	11.8	11.9	11.4
General	13.5	12.5	12.3	11.9	10.7
Technical	11.9	11.8	11.2	11.2	9.0
Vocational	13.1	13.7	11.5	12.3	13.5
Combined Junior-Senior Secondary	12.3	13.6	14.7	13.1	13.2

Source: Laporan Statistik Tentang Trend Pembangunan di Sumatera Barat. PROPPIPDA. 1975.

TABLE 23

Population and Density by Province

No.	Province	Total Population	% Pop. of Indonesia	Area (Km^2)	Density per Km^2
1.	D.K.I. Jakarta	4,576,009	3.84	576	7,944
2.	West Java	21,632,684	18.14	49,118	440
3.	Central Java	21,877,081	18.35	34,503	634
4.	Special District Jogjakarta	2,489,998	2.09	3,140	793
5.	EAST JAVA	25,526,714	21.41	47,366	539
	Java + Madura	76,102,486	63.83	134,703	565
6.	Special District Aceh	2,008,918	1.68	59,814	34
7.	North Sumatera	2,622,693	5.55	70,804	94
8.	WEST SUMATERA	2,793,196	2.34	66,080	42
9.	Riau	1,641,591	1.38	124,084	13
10.	Djambi	1,006,084	0.84	62,150	16
11.	South Sumatera	3,443,749	2.89	103,268	33
12.	Bengkulu	519,366	0.44	21,082	25
13.	Lampung	2,777,085	2.33	33,892	82
	Sumatera	20,812,682	17.45	541,174	38
14.	West Kalimantan	2,019,936	1.69	157,066	13
15.	Central Kalimantan	699,589	0.59	156,662	4
16.	South Kalimantan	1,699,105	1.42	34,611	49
17.	East Kalimantan	733,536	0.62	202,619	4
	Kalimantan	5,152,166	4.32	550,848	9
18.	NORTH SULAWESI	1,718,155	1.44	24,289	71
19.	Central Sulawesi	913,662	0.77	88,561	10
20.	South Sulawesi	5,189,227	4.35	82,768	63
21.	Southeast Sulawesi	714,120	0.60	32,036	22
	Sulawesi	8,535,164	7.16	227,654	37
22.	Bali	2,120,338	1.78	5,623	377
23.	West Nusa Tenggara	2,202,333	1.85	21,740	101
24.	East Nusa Tenggara	2,294,945	1.93	48,889	47
25.	Maluku	1,088,945	0.91	83,675	13
26.	West Irian	923,440	0.77	412,781	2
	Other Islands	8,630,001	7.24	572,708	15
	Indonesia	119,232,499	100.00	2,027,087	59

Source: Provincial Development in Indonesia, The Ford Foundation, Jakarta. 1976.